G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

[CONCLUDED.] CANTO III .- Adventurous. This title looks rather tremendous, I own, So you'd better lay in a good stock of cologne. But what I could see, and never shrink,

you might hear me describe, my dear, I should think. I saw a man come near being killed Because, like most men, he was "horrid" self-willed; About to start for a city far, He was climbing up on a railroad car; w the cars were going-were almost gone, And so he did, 'twas a sight to appal, if he had fa'len-he didn't fall-They'd have gone straight over him, bag and all!

ed I. myself, was not very far From being run over, though not by a car, But a cart dragged along by a broken-down Dobbin, Whose seraggy old head kept a bob-bob-bobbint A very ignoble kind of way
To depart from this life, you will justly say; Because, if you must, for original sin, Have your senses knocked out by your skall knocke

Tis a mitigation, it is indeed, To have it done by a high-meit'ed steed, By a very, uncommonly, "nice young man," ith a black moustache and " such loves of eyes"ring back the pulse to your pulseless heart. and I leave out the best, the corollary ; But, dear me! where's the romance to brag or

Killed outright by a one-horse wagon? One evening, also, in taking a walk, iling the way with pleasant talk, That the only way to get up was to creep. rnor Banks, if report be true, Gathering raspberries ripe and rare, Lazily lounging everywhere, Watching the auts' unceasing feet, Obeying some inward mandate, d wondering, in the midsummer heat, How they could ever stand it-

Glad rather to be the luckless-est wight That ever dined off or of herbs, Than to work like an ant all the days of your life, And then to be pickled in proverbs Looking up in the silent sky Through leafy arches waving high. And tasting, in all their luscious plenty, The sweets of the doles far niente: ddenly found that the night had come, And we were alarmingly far from home. ne half at least of the nursery rhyme for where we were, and how we fared, ody knew, if many cared. n arose some exciting scenes, discussing the question of ways and means. What was the probable homeward way There wasn't a soul that pretended to say; But to stand debating would never do. And "lost in the woods" is no great fun; But the sole thing thought of, that could be done as to start in some direction and run. Ah! then and there was a wonderful scurrying, ing, and plunging, and panting, and hurrying, mbling over the fallen trees, A shuddering at every sigh of the breeze, A pitching into all sorts of ditches And coming out with the scars of the pitches. rustling of cambric, a streaming of ribbon, And a coming at last to the edge of the woods.

At a terrible cost in the way of dry goods,

Why, my dear, 'twas as plain as plain could be; If you don't believe it, just go and see! CANTO IV .- Military. Arms and the man" sang the old-world Bard

and moving towards us, 'twas easy to prove, r looking as if it was going to move!

nd a looking hank in the darkness to catch a glimps of a huge black bear! were told next day, by several men, That a bear had been killed there two winters ago By a party of braves from the farms below; And we certainly saw something furry and black,

And I, when I heard that the Light Horse Guard Were furbishing up their tarnished swords, And producing powder from hidden hoards, And brushing their beautiful gold-lace coats. and waving their plumes as if marching to war As gallant and brave as the young Lochinvar, Remembered the words of the old Mantuan, Whose trumpet-ring is enough to imbue one A martial ardor, a noble rage,
A sacred fury that naught could assuage But the smell of powder, although, I admit, 'm not overstocked with what Yankees call " grit m only endowed with the courage of pullets.

It occurs to me, since I began to write. marvellous prescience-the unseen powe That often provides for our future weal. To ward off the blows which the years shall dea For, look you, if Governor Wise should come Thundering northward with beating of drum, And braying of trumpets, and tooting of fife, Having blown the Army to Mercury

With the breath of his angry lips And snapped the Navy to Jup With his thumb and finger-tips, wing taken the Capitol, Treasury, White-House

And demolished that overgrown Cape Cod Light-health the Washington Monument—why, 'twould o know a little how matters stood :

To see if from all our epaulets We could excavate a hero

The could tilt a lance or measure a sword With General Taliaferro; our small-fisted farmers and artisans

Unchivations, meek, and merry, ould prove a match on the battle-field the warriors of Harper's Ferry. And make an invincible pair; For he was invincible all but his heels

And they are invincible there!) Well it happened, whatever the mot've might be, and went out in quest of the sights to see.

Never the witty Horatius Flaccus Met in the streets of Rome, I wis,

nging the rites of Semelean Bacchus, Mobilium turba Quiritium like this. Making the most indescribable roise; makers, come from the driving of pegs, ailors uncurling traditional legs,

ne crushing its crepitous way. n-men grinding a dolorous lay, iving the small boys delightedly frantic ymen cracking their tortuous lashes, knowing precisely just where the smash is; ang lady frightened by gambolling cur,

ve is missing-no chance for a search you into unwilling adhesion ling, rod-whiskered, blue-shirted Mile

And what, after all, is the wonderful sight? Scores of lean horses with very fut riders, Imposing no doubt to youthful outsiders, But not even having the grace to look canty As Burn ditter. nd not equal to any kind of a storm. r coats are dusty, their swords are rusty, their sout ensemble decidedly musty;

What then? Must we yield to Governor Wise,

And meekly say, "Come and take us?"

Perhaps. Yet I hardly think the North

Feels called to be a marryr,

And though Governor Wise will conquer, of course,

He will find he has caught a Tartar.

He'll demolish the North as the valignt fly And when he has mastered the inne

I know the Chivalry fondly believe Twill be no hard thing to tame us, Fighting only with Personal Liberty Bills ent writs of mandamus And but raw recruits at that, But greatly he errs who imagines for thes We will enter a caveat.

I observe, my dear, though my plan is clear, But indeed his as simple as a b c, And this is the way to do it

ing,
And on our bleak hill-sides their broad-swords flashing, To Governor Wise, a horseman shall ride, (We'tl attack him, you see, on his weakest side,) Segging that he a message would send-Our men can do ali that they list.
Our troops will be drilled, our magazines filled,

Our armament put in working order, And our merry men ready, sure-aiming and steady To send that fine fellow back over the border EPILOGUE. The noon of night glides softly to its close,

The weary world is hushed in still repose, The white-stoled moon smiles down her smile of And these, my idle rhymes, perforce must cease With laughter I can lonely vigil keep, But rather, praying, choose to fall on sleep. And here, beneath the moon's unclouded view, This, O my friend, the prayer I breathe for you;

Your spirit's shining, But that the cloud may always bear within A silver lining. Not that no bitter evermore may mar

Your joy's completeness, But that from every bitter you may pluck Its heart of sweetness. Not that no sword may ever pierce your soul, But that your sorrows

May be but swift-winged pioneers to lead To brigh er morrows.

Not that no work may henceforth ever burden Your spicit's wings, But that your life-long work may always be

In holy things.

Not that unfaltering you may tread life's way,
Whate'er its length, But that from every weakness you may learn To gather strength.

Not that your eyes may never fail to know

Triumph complete,
But that a glorious victory you may wrest From each defeat. Till fought is the last fierce fight. Ended the strife, And you rise from the deep dishonor of death

WASHINGTON IRVING'S DEATH.

The New York Tribune contains the following particulars of this event: "During the morning of Monday, he walked

house, and gave some instructions to his gardener. He also gave instructions to the carpenters who were employed in making some alterations in his library. He did not ride out during the day, as was his custom, but as he made no complaint of feeling more indisposed than a melancholy sort of inspiration from the association of their joyousness and their infinity; while Helen, stripping the cover from her harp, and her evening in amusement, conversation, and the evening in amusement, conversation, and treading. In addition to the regular members of the family, consisting of Ebenezer Irving, the brother of the deceased, with three days, and the feb family, consisting of Ebenezer Irving, the brother of the deceased, with three days. reading. In addition to the regular members of the family, consisting of Ebenezer Irving, the brother of the deceased, with three daughters, and Pierre M. Irving, a nephew, with his wife, another nephew, Rev. Pierre M. Irving, of Merivale and perplexities, and became a very ent doubts and perplexities. wife, another nephew, Rev. Pierre M. Irving, of New Brighton, Staten Island, the literary executor of the deceased, was also present, having accidentally come up from Staten Island that looking into space, betrayed how far away she had to the young man, and giving him a hearty accidentally come up from Staten, Island that day. The evening was spent according to the proposal of Mr. Irving, and excepting an occasional reference to his difficulty of breathing, sional reference to his difficulty of breathing, In the intervals of conversation he glanced over her, put her hand upon the girl's shoulder to

About half past ten o'clock, he rose up to retire, and taking his leave of the company, he ascended the stairs alone to his bed-room. While upon the steps, he met his nephew, Rev. Mr. Irving, coming down, holding in his hand a needle for sewing manuscripts. Mr. Irving accosted him in a playful manner, saying, 'Why, Pierre, what are you doing with the needle?' and passed on to his room. These were the last words he ever uttered. One of his nieces, Miss Sarah Irving, had préceded him to his room, and when he entered, she was engaged in arranging his books so that they would be convenient of access in the hours of wakefulness during the night. While engaged in this duty, she was startled by a noise as of wakefulness during the night. While engaged in this duty, she was startled by a noise as of some one choking, and turning around she saw Mr. Irving press his hand to his heart and fall forward. He caught hold of a table in falling, and gradually sank down on the floor. The noise was heard in the parlor below, and in a moment every member of the household was around him, but before any of them reached him had a caused to kreathe around him, but before any of them reached him

may have had some connection with him, more, for God's sake! If you value my peace which made it so unpleasant to him to hear his of mind, if you do not wish to drive your father

"Beale Lloyd-the names are similar," said Rupert, pondering; "very likely that was it, Helen. For all we know, the man may be vive it, never, never never mention it!"

Rupert looked at her a moment, and, resumof papa's uneasiness. I will be more cautious of papa's uneasiness. I will be more cautious another time, for I know that father is such an honorable, high minded man, that it must be a terrible shock, indeed, to him, if any of the Why yes, everything is strange in this world, family have acted dishonestly, and it must pain my son. It is strange how the grass grows, him to hear the name mentioned."

What would the man down below there, in his dark oubliette, with all that load upon his heart, have felt, if he had heard his proud and handsome heir thus announcing the noble opinion he en-tertained of him? Had he heard it, and had there been a razor nigh at hand, or a "bare bodkin," can we suppose that there would have been any possible "respect" capable of restraining him, of making long-lived his "calamity?" No—not even "the dread of something after death," not even the forecast shad ows and dismal echoes from that "undiscovered country," all untravelled by any earthly adventurer, would have been potent over the supreme shame bred of contrast of that confidently-expressed opinion and the loathsome reality. Lucky, then, was it, thrice lucky for him, that Beale Lloyld, instead of suspecting that his son thought his grief proceeded from wounded honor, or shame for a delinquent friend, really "During the morning of Monday, he walked fancied that his son partially identified him out to his garden, a short distance from the with the man he actually was. True, he half

In the intervals of conversation he glanced over the pages of several books that lay on the centre table, and the last book he is believed to have opened was Lient. Page's History of the Paraguay Expedition.

About half past ten o'clock, he rose up to retire, and taking his leave of the company, he is the company, he is the company, he is the company of the company o

her children, and a glow of pride and satisfac-tion lighted up her face with beams that almost ESCAPE OF COOK AND COFFIC.—THEIR RECAPTURE.—Charlestown, Dec. 15.—At half past
eight o'clock this evening, two of the condemned
prisoners, Cook and Coppic, escaped from the
jail, and were fired upon by the sentinels and
driven back to the prison. They are now in
the custody of Sheriff Campbell.

The prisoners had mounted the jail wall
when they were discovered by the sentinel on
the outside, who immediately gave the alarm,
and fired upon them. They had sawed their
manacles asunder with the blade of a Barlow
knife, which they had concealed and made into

less to permit it ever to pass your lips again! It is a banished, a forgotten thing; for the sake

ing his walk, murmured : "Strange!" but not

none of the party appeared more cheerful or a would think you were utterly heart-broken,"

"Helen, do not play that, please. One would think you were utterly heart-broken,"

effort these words and this cheerfulness must cost him.

cost him.
"And Helen, too—why, all the youngsters Genoa will be running here, sending bouquets, and serenading us. Don't blush, child. And give me the kiss I neglected to take this morning." Helen clung to him for a moment in a fond embrace, and the tears came into her eyes she felt him draw her to him with a convulsive movement of the arm. Then he gently freed himself, and, in a less lively tone of

voice, said:
"You will find many things to put up with

in which the banker seemed to exert all his powers of being agreeable; and then he rose to depart. "I must to my work again," said he, with a weary air, pressing his hand across his brow, "and I need not tell you all to enjoy yourselves as much as you can, without concern as to my occupations or abstraction. For a while, you coupations or abstraction. For a while, you "Aha!" said Pierro, with awakening attention. more thoroughly into your amusements. There is much to be seen in Genoa, and you need not is much to be seen in Genoa, and you need not them, and send them off to lands which they them, and send them off to lands which they restrain yourselves. Money and time are at your command, freely. If, after a while, you wish to visit other parts of the country, Rome,

For the National Dr.

A PALAGE - IN GENOA.

AY ENVARD SEXECK.

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"VIII—Cons was, when I began to talk about our country and New York, and handed him those papers I got at the hotel in Milan. Did you notice how he looked at me when I asked him if he knew that great forger, about whom the papers say so much, that Beale Lloyd? I thought he was going to strike me, for a moment, and mamma, too, seemed wonderfully embarrassed."

"Perhaps you did wrong, Rupert. Papa may be a sufferer by that wretch's deeds, or "Perhaps you did wrong, Rupert. Papa could find utterance, she said: "Oh, Rupert, may be a sufferer by that wretch's deeds, or my son, never, never mention that name any more, for God's sake! If you value my peace of mind, if you do not wish to drive your father mad, cease to remember even that name, much matter of wines and liquors. But, sensualist and glatton though the reverend father's appear arce and manner proved him to be, there was scenario and manner proved min to be, the mescmething in the liues of his mouth, in the mephistophilean wrinkle between his heavy gray brows, and in the sly twinkle of his brigh eyes, which seemed to indicate a mind and character of no ordinary depth. They did not converse in Italian, but in a language which it was not likely any persons about L'Albergo di Buona Fede would be able to understand; namely, the Aryot, a species of "cant," which,

as should ys about his waist. "Strange, Rapput!

Why yee, everything is strange in this world,
a my son. It is strange how the great grows,
a my drifting strange in a strange in the stra

"You will find many things to put up with in your father, children, but I am sure you will excuse me—my business has been—has—harassed me beyond measure, and at times I can—think of nothing else—but you must take me as you find me; and now, Helen, you find me in a humor for music—and disposed for a critical estimate of your skill. The harp? No—I am not a judge—try the piano. And give us a piece of Mendelssohn's—they should teach him accurately in Bruxelles."

Helen went to the piano joyfully, and with a light and skillful hand performed that exquisite "Marriage March" in the "Midsummer Night's Dream." The music merited and received the applause of Mr. Beale, who complimented his daughter highly upon the skill of her touch, and her evident feeling of the sentiment of the piece. A brief conversation ensued, in which the banker seemed to exert all his powers of being agreeable; and then he rose to deposit if I must tell you a short story, upon which depends he intelligence of your future proceedings. New York merchants are men of enterprise, and they will speculate in anything that promises profit, or even excitement. Cospetto! not content with legitimate stocks, they buy

"Way, res. or recording the service of the first of the service of the first of the service of the first of the service of the service of the first of the service of the first of the service of the first of the service of the servi the cuttaile, who immediately gave the alarm, and first upon them. They had asseed their manacles anunder with the blade of a Barlow knife, which they had concealed and made into a fine saw.

It is ascertained from their confession that they had concealed of the preventing for their thei

"That has to be verified. There is a man, claiming to be English, who has leased the Palazzo Cieco. He calls himself Beale, which is this Lloyd's first name; and certainly, from the glimpse I have had of him, he answers the description rivers in the reconstruction of Senarators.

The Government of the United States had an outrage was committed four years ago, in taking possession of the arsenal at Liberty, as was committed a month or two ago, in taking possession of the armory at Harper's Ferry. I apprehend that

description given in this letter."

"The Palazzo Cieco! Why, there is a subtermaneous passage"—

Why, there is a subtermaneous passage"—

"The Palazzo Cieco! Why, there is a subtermaneous passage"—

Why, there is a subtermaneous passage where destroyed at Harper's Ferry, thousands son, in company with a large number of others, were destroyed in consequence of the taking terraneous passage"——son, in company with a large number of others, sppeared at the arsenal, overpowered him, confined him, broke open the magazines, supplied the letter says: 'He is a man of strong imagination, fierce passions, and is fond of political honors. His pride is supreme, and his sense of shame must overwhelm him. He will be almost certain to grasp eagerly at any plausible scheme which promises him restoration to his place in society, or honor and praise in the eyes of the world. If he could be persuaded that his name would go down to posterity as one of the lib rators of Italy, his last dollar would go towards the support of the cause. No fear of treachery on his part. The only way to command testifies that a Judge Thomp-son, in company with a large number of others, and the arsenal, overpowered him, confined him, broke open the magazines, supplied him, confined him, broke open the magazines, supplied him, to ansagine of the acts at Harper's Ferry, many lives were destroyed him, consequence of the taking possession of

de in protession, we of the Carbonari, and which shall secure our high ends for us without further ado."
"How? money! But whence is it to come?"
"You are to be the agent of the brotherhood in procuring it, and we rely upon your skill, and, on Tuesday next, come to the boundaries during morning mass, go to the object in our lands, within two months, at a place in the place in

should be addressed to G. BAILEY, Washington, D. C.

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cents a line for each subsequent one. Ten words constitute a line. Payment in advance

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All communications to the Era, whether

s invariably required.

I offer the following amendment:

After the word "invaded," near the end of the resolution, ernment; but they gave power to this Federal

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THE EXECUTIONS AT CHARLESTOWN,

Charlestown on Friday last. The Associated Press furnishes the following particulars:

GENERAL ORDERS, ETC. The general orders of the day were read at the parade yesterday afternoon, for the station of the military at and during the execution.

The Wythe Guards, Captain Kennedy, were stationed on the left of the gallows, and Captain Deems's battalion on the right.

Colonel Wersenger had command of the guard to the prisoners from the jail, which was composed of the Mountain Guards, Captain Bushong, the Richardson Guards, Capt. Welsh, and the Petersburg City Guard, Captain Mayo.

nained as a guard at that post until after the first execution, when they were relieved, and formed a part of the guard to the field with the

emaining prisoners.

The Washington Guards, Captain Leener ere stationed in front of the court-house until after the first execution, when they were reieved, and formed a part of the guard to the heved, and formed a part of the guard to the field with the remaining prisoners. The Peters-burg Grays, Captain Scott, were detailed to guard the jail during the day. The Clarke Guards, Captain Bowen, and the Fincastle Rifles, Captain Anthony, were posted as skir-mishers on the opposite side of the gallows— the Clarke Guard on the right, and the Fincas-

tle Rifles on the left. The Executive Guards, Captain Hunter, were posted at the main gate to the field of death, supported by a piece of artillery, commanded by Lieut. Evans, of the Alexandria Artillery.

The Ranger Cavalry, Captain Ashby, co operated with the special guard in preventing the admission of persons within the area designated by the line of sentinels.

The Black Horse Rangers, Captain Scott, detached a platon to act as advance and rear

detached a platoon to act as advance and rear guard to the procession from the jail to field of execution, whilst the remainder of his company were directed to patrol the street of the during the time of the executions.

Captain Carter's company of cavalry were etailed to scout the outskirts of the town. The troops on the field not attached to the prisoners' guard were under command of Col.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXECUTION. At daybreak this morning the reveille was sounded from the various barracks, announcing the dawn of the day of execution, and soon the whole community was astir. The anxiety to ascertain a true version of the exciting events of last night caused the streets to be througed with people at an early hour. The military, most of whom had been on duty all night, or sleeping on their arms, looked less fit for the active duties of the day than was anticipated at the time of the parade yesterday afternoon The weather, however, was bright and beautiful, and much milder than for several prece-

ed walking very unpleasant.

At nine o'clock, the entire military force in attendance was formed on the main street, and the officers reported ready for duty at head-quarters. The companies detailed for field duty around the gallows immediately took up the line of march, and at half past nine o'clock were in the positions assigned them on the field. The companies detailed for escort duty took up their position in front of the jail, and remained in full possession, awaiting orders.

EXECUTION OF GREEN AND COPELAND. At half past ten o'clock, Gen. Talliaferro, with his staff, numbering about twenty-five officers, having given orders to prepare the two negro prisoners, Shields Green and John Cope-land, for execution, took their departure to join the main body of the troops on the field. The military then formed a hollow square around the jail, and the open wagon, containing the door, with a carriage to convey! Sheriff Campll and his deputies.
The crowd of citizens and strangers was very

great, at least five times as numerous as on the occasion of Brown's execution, most of whom were already on the field, whilst others waited to see the prisoners come out. The religious ceremonies in the cell of the

prisoners were very impressive, and were conducted by Rev. Mr. North, Presbyterian, and Rev. Beverly Waugh, of the M. E. church. At a quarter before eleven o'clock, the pri

oners, accompanied by the sheriff and Roy Mr oners, accompanied by the sherin and rev. art. North, appeared at the jail door, and, with their arms pinioned, moved slowly forward towards the vehicle in waiting for them. They seemed downcast, and wore none of that calm and cheerful spirit evinced by Brown under cimilar circumstances. They were helped into without looking to the right or left. The escort now commenced to move, and the wagon was closely flanked on either side by a company of At seven minutes before eleven o'clock, the

At seven minutes before eleven colors, the prisoners cast a shuddering military, and the prisoners cast a shuddering glance towards the gallows erected on the rising ground in its centre. In two minutes more, the wagon stopped at the foot of the gallows, and whilst the prisoners were alighting, the companies forming the escort moved off to the positions assigned them on the field. The prisoners mounted the scaffold with firm

steps, and were immediately joined by Sheriff Campbell and Rev. Mr. North. After a brief prayer by the clergyman, the caps were drawn over the heads of the prisoners, and the ropes affixed around their necks. During the few moments they thus stood. Copeland remained quiet, but Green was engaged in earnest prayer up to the moment the trap was drawn, and they were launched into eternity. Green died very easy, his neck being broken

by the fall, and the motion of the body was very slight. Copeland seemed to suffer very much and his body writhed in violent contortions for

They were accompanied on the gallows by Rev. Messrs. Waugh, North, and Lehr, to whom they bid an affectionate farewell, and expressed the hope of meeting them in heaven. The bodies were placed in the poplar coffins provided for them, and carried back to the jail. They will be interred to morrow on the spot where the gallows stands, though there is a party of medical students here from Winches

main here long.

The negroes did not say much in regard to their fate, and devoted all their time to prayer. Copeland would have spoken on the scaffold

and he been permitted. EXECUTION OF COOK AND COPPIC.

The bodies of the two negro prisoners having been brought back to the jail at about a quarter to twelve o'clock, notice was given to Cook and Coppic that their time was approaching, only one hour more being allowed them. The milione hour more being allowed them. The min-tary movement, similar to those at the first ex-ecution, were repeated, and the wagon with two more coffins was standing at the door at half past twelve o'clock. The same military ious ceremonies were progressing in the cell of the prisoners. Since the failure of their attempt to escape last night, their assumed com posure and apparent resignation had given way, and they now looked at the reality of their fate with a full conviction of its awful certainty They were reserved and rather quiet, but join

and with fervor in the religious ceremonies conducted by Messrs. North, Lehr, and Waugh.

When called upon by the sheriff, they stood calm and quietly whilst their arms were being pinioned, and after bidding farewell to the guards of the jail, moved through the corrido to the door, and were helped into the wagon, and took their seats on their coffins. Their ap-pearance was rather of hopeless despair, than of resignation, and they seemed to take but little notice of anything as the procession slowly moved to the field of death.

A blue cloth talma was thrown over the shoulders of Coppic, and a dark one over the shoulders of Cook. Before leaving his cell, Coppic gave an old slouch hat to a Quaker gentleman from Ohio, stating that the dark one about to be put on him was a present from Gov.

Willard.

During these proceedings Coppie was struggling to hide his feelings, and Cook was struggling to be calm and collected. The Quaker gentleman remarked, "It is hard to die," to which Coppic responded, "It is the parting from friends, and not the dread of death, that

Coppic then made a remark to Stevens which VIRGINIA.

The execution of Cook and Coppic, white men,
Copeland and Green, colored, took place at
by name, or show any personal recognition of each other.

each other.

Emerging from the jail, Cook recognised several gentlemen, and bowed politely to them.

On approaching the scaffold, Cook shook hands with a large number of persons, and bowed politely to Mayor Green. When he put his foot on the trap, he glanced up at the hook on which the noose was hung.

The wagon reached the scaffold at thirteen minutes before one o'clock, and the prisoners

minutes before one o'clock, and the prisoner ascended with a determined firmness that wa carcely surpassed by that of Captain Brown.
On the gallows they shook hands and bid eacl other good-by; after the caps were drawn, Cook said, "stop a minute; where is Edwin's hand?" Cook said, "God bless you," and Coppie said, in a loud tone, "be quick as possible." Copie's carteel properties was the subject of pic's genteel appearance was the subject of general remark. The calm and collected man er of both was very remarkable.

A brief prayer was offered up by one of the clergymen, the rope adjusted, the cap drawn, and both were launched into eternity in seven minutes after the researched the control of the con minutes after they ascended the gallows. The both exhibited the most unfinching firmness, saying nothing, except bidding farewell to the ministers and the sheriff. After the rope was adjusted, Cook exclaimed: "Be quick—acquick as possible"—which was also repeated

Coppic.
After hanging about thirty minutes, both bodies were cut down, and placed in the black walnut coffins prepared for them. That of Cook vas placed in a poplar box, labelled and di-iected as follows: "Ashbell P. Willard and Robert Crowley, 104 William street, New York, care Adams's Express." Coppic's body was placed in a similar box, to be forwarded to his Cook would have spoken from the scaffold i

ermitted. On their way to the scaffold, the made an apology for any reflection that might attach to them through their conduct.

One of the ministers who attended on the

risoners informs me that neither Cook Coppic ever made any direct profession of re-igion. Coppic was of Quaker descent, and Cook was a Congregationalist in sentiment. Both, however, seemed hopeful; and the minister's exin the redeeming blood of Christ. The prayer of the Rev. Mr. North was appropriate, and was

the only service on the scatfold.

The bodies of Cook and Coppic were taken to Harper's Ferry in a train which was waiting at the depot. The bodies of the negroes have been given to surgeons and medical students.

AGES OF PRISONERS.

John E. Cook was 29 years of age, havivg een born in Haddam, Conn., in 1830. He was about five feet seven and a half inches high

with light hair, and fair complexion.

Edwin Coppic was born in Columbiasa county, Ohio, and was 24 years of age, five feet nine ches high, brown hair, and dark complexion He had a stupid look, but was undoubtedly of good intellect, and rather intelligent.
Shields Green was quite a black negro, and but 22 years of age. He was born in Rochester, New York. He had rather a good countenance,

and a sharp, intelligent look.

John Copeland was a bright mulatto, with bushy head, and rather straight hair. He was 24 years of age, and looked younger than Stephens and Hazlitt will not be tried until

the May term of the court. LETTER OF EXPLANATION. The following letter was handed to me this evening. It is written in a beautiful style of penmanship, and is a curiosity, coming from a man who was in a few hours to suffer death:

"CHARLESTOWN, Dec. 16, 1859. "Having been called upon to make a fair our breaking jail. I have agreed to do so from and jailer and jail guard. We do not wish that any one should be unjustly censured on our ac

"The principal implements with which w out of a bedstead. The knife was borrowed from one of the jail guards to cut a lemon with. We did not return it to him. He had no idea of any intention on our part to break out neither did the sheriff's iniler nor any of the guard have any knowledge of our plans.
"We received no aid from any person or per

sons whatever. We had, as we supposed, re-moved all the brick, except the last tier, several days ago, but, on the evening previous to our breaking out, we found our mistake in regard the evening that my sister and brot them, and we postponed it—but I urged Coppic to go, and I would remain, but he refused.

then concluded to wait. 'I got a knife-blade from Shields Green, and with that made some teeth in the Barlow knife with which we sawed off our shackles. W had them all off the night previous to our ge ting out. Coppic went out first, and I followed We then got up on the wall, when I was discovered, and shot at. The guard outside the wall immediately came up to the wall.

We saw there was no chance to escape and as it was discovered that we had broken jail, we walked in deliberately, and gave our elves up to the sheriff, Capt. Avis, and the ja There was no person or persons who aided us in our escape. This is true, so help "JOHN E. COOK. "EDWIN COPPIC."

There will be about four hundred troops kep ere for several weeks.

It is understood there will be a civil guard kept under arms, but that the military force now here will be immediately dispersed.

The military are in fine spirits this evening at the prospects of an early return to their homes, and our citizens are rejoicing that civil authority will in future be the ruling power of our usually quiet town.

THE REMAINS OF THE PRISONERS. Harper's Ferry, Dec. 16 .- The remains ook and Coppic arrived here about four o'clock. for the East in the three o'clock express train

"OLD JOHN BROWN."-A paragraph from the Danville (Va.) Register found its way into the Sun the other day, in which it was asserted the Sun the other day, in which it was asserted that old John Brown visited that place some time ago, under the assumed name of McLane, and passed himself off there as a Baptist preacher. A gentleman living near Ringgold states to the Register that McLane (alias Brown) dined at his house, &c. This veritable "John Brown" called upon us yesterday, with the paragraph from the Register, and assures us that he is the McLane, or rather the Lazarus B. McLain, who was at Danville, and "passed himself off as a preacher," and all that. He is himself off as a preacher," and all that. He is tall in stature, venerable in his appearance, and highly respectable, and is, of course, annoyed by such unenviable notoriety as this. If every all man with a white beard and venerable as pect is to be gibbeted as "John Brown," wher ever such a man has appeared as a stranger t the community, there is no village in the United States that will not have its reminiscence of Old John Brown, of Ossawatmie."—Sun.

DISARMING OF COLORED PERSONS .- The Port obacco (Md.) Times publishes an order from Judge Crain, together with the concurrence of the grand jury of Charles county, withdrawing all licenses granting to the free colored persons the use of fire-arms, and also authorizing the heriff and constables to search for and apon such arms, wherever found, and dispos

BUCHANAN RELIEF FUND.-Several ago, President Buchanan invested \$4,000, the interest of which is annually disbursed in the urchase of fuel for "poor and indigent nales" in Lancaster, Penn. The annual dis tribution took place this week, and the Lancaster papers report a large number of worthy and deserving claimants.

DEATH OF A VERY OLD COLORED MAN.free colored man, known as George Woodhouse, died in Norfolk, Va., last Saturday, at the ad-vanced age of one hundred and twenty years.

MINNESOTA U. S. SENATOR.—Chicago, Dec. 18.—The Republican members of the Minnesota Legislature held a caucus on Wednesday, and nominated Morton S. Wilkinson for U. S. Senator. Both branches of the Legislature were to meet on the following day, when Mr. Wilkinson would doubtless be elected.

To ADVERTISERS -Business men will find it greatly to heir advantage to advertise in the Era.

Messra. Pettingill & Co., S. B. Niles, and Joy, Coe, & o., are our authorized advertising agents for Boston lew York, and Philadelphia.

The following gentlemen are accredited agents for the Fra: G. W. Light, Boston, Mass.; J. A. Innis, Salem, Mass.; Thomas Wheeler, Cincinnati, Ohio; L. T. Park, Wount Union, Ohio; Joseph Hughes, Philadelphia, Pa.

WASHINGTON, D.C. THURSDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1859.

e addressed to Mrs. M. L. BAILEY, National Era, Washington, D. C. Our subscribers will please look out for their

pills. Don't let them slip out, unnoticed, or lay them away unattended to.

The crowded state of our columns has excluded several literary notices; but amends will be made to the authors and publishers next week.

DISORGANIZATION IN THE HOUSE. The only legitimate business before the House of Representatives is organization; and racy in that body is disorganization. The Con-gressional Globe is filled from week to week with the inflammatory and incendiary diatribes of these gentlemen, whose whole object is to prevent an organization, to threaten disunion, and by such unhallowed means to frighten, as they vainly hope, the Opposition into the belief that the salvation of the Union depends on the election of a Black Democrat to the office of Speaker.

tained an almost unbroken silence, from a conviction that they have no right to waste time in talking, while the public interests demand an organization of the House. It would be a great mistake to attribute their silence to a disinclination to meet their opponents in debate. The manifest superiority of the Republican speakers in the debates which have taken place in the Senate is a conclusive answer to such suggestions. The Republican members of the House have determined to pursue th even tenor of their way until an organization takes place, which, from what we hear of the condition of the Treasury, cannot be long delayed. It is said, indeed, that the Postmaster General declares that his Department cannot be kept up longer without aid from Congress This circumstance will probably bring the President and his especial friends in the House to a sense of duty.

IMPORTANT VOTE-VOTING DOWN

It will be noticed in the Senate proceedings of Wednesday week, that the body came to vote upon Mr. Mason's resolution, and the amendment offered by Mr. Trumbull. The resolution authorizes the appointment of a committee, to investigate the Harper's Ferry invasion of Virginia. The amendment of Mr. Trumbull proposed that the committee be instructed to inquire into the circumstances of the seizure and robbery of the arsenal at Liberty, Missouri, in 1856, by the Border Ruffians of that State. This matter has never been made the subject of an investigation, and no steps have been taken to bring the miscreants In 1832, only South Carolina could be induced to condign punishment; yet the Black Demo-Virginia. But they will not escape exposure. The amendment and speech of Mr. Trumbull. which we this week publish in full, will gibbet them before the country, as accessories after the fact in the treasonable ruffignism of Atchison, Stringfellow, and their robber hordes.

TUESDAY IN CONGRESS. The Senate met, and adjourned without pro

ceeding to business.

In the House, Mr. Holman, of Indiana, ceeded to address the House on the politics of the day. He undertook to state the position occupied by the Democratic party, and to disown the interpretation placed upon the Cincinnati platform by Southern gentlemen. He quoted from the writings and speeches of Messrs. Cass, Buchanan, and others, in support of his position. He deprecated the idea of disunion, and paid a glowing tribute to the memo ry of Gen. Jackson, who by his famous proclamation laid down the true doctrine of the rela tions of the Federal and State Governments and by his energy and determination quelled

the revolutionary spirit displayed by South Mr. John Cochrane, of N. Y., thought that North, and expressed his sympathy with the South. But he was no alarmist, and had no fears for the safety of the Union. He defended The remains of Coppie left in the express train the Union meetings, and answered the chage west to-night. The remains of Cook will leave that they do no practical good, by saying that

they are preparing the people to vote for Union entiments at the polls.

Mr. Cochrane attempted to show Republican party was made responsible for Helper's book, by the signatures of the Republican members to the prospectus of the work. He thought their disclaimers were unsatisfactory; and he proceeded to set forth its charac ter and to denounce its principles.

After a call of the House, a vote was take

Speaker, which	resu	lted a	s follo	ws:		
Whole number, 2	228.	Nece	essary	tos	choi	c
. Fourteenth b			2/10	-		
Mr. Sherman					111	
Mr. Boteler			10		39	
Mr. J. D. Davi	is	160			8	
Mr. Barksdale	g.				15	
Mr. McClernan	nd				21	
Mr. Bocock					8	
Mr. Miles Tay	lor				6	
Scattering					20	
Iwo more ballot	s we	re tal	ken, w	vith a	a sim	il

ZEAL OF THE NEW YORK HERALD.—The zeal of the New York Herald in the cause of Slavery, manifested by the publication of all the nost ultra speeches of the Abolitionists, is said to be stimulated by something more tangible

New York, the past week, and conversed with persons of all parties, and all deprecate and enounce Brown's party, except a few red-nouthed, stereotyped Abolitionists. "The New York *Herard* has taken delight in

gathering all the inflammable speeches of these noisy notoriety seekers, to exasperate the South, as well as to please those fellows, who have no other way to make themselves known; and it is a well-known fact that the *Herald* has been

cury and Richmond Examiner have published to take sides with or even to apologize for them, articles proposing a dissolution of the Union, while the South itself would be divided. The and a resort on the part of the South to

DISTINION The lesson of the hour is disunion. Demo-

We have said nothing here in the way o cratic politicians all over the South threaten that if they fail to elect a President in 1860, they will instantly to arms! They believe that

the Union is in many ways a burden to the South : it cripples her commerce, prevents the levelopment of her manufacturing capabilities, We believe that the obstacles to disuniand keeps her in a condition of colonial vassalage to the North. Nevertheless, from pure riotism, from unalloyed love to the Constituion and Government instituted by our forefathers, and the hallowed associa past, they are willing to adhere to the North so ong as the North remains loyal to the Demo-

as turned loose, to inaugurate a policy which

shall at once place the South in the foremost rank of the civilized nations of the earth. We

may have our doubts about the wisdom of the

policy of disunion, but neither we nor a majori-

ty of the country have a right to constrain men

against their will, and against their supposed

interests, to hold office. We deprecate their

disunion sentiments, and shall oppose their ef-

forts to accomplish the severance of the Union.

but we feel a strong repugnance to holding

them to their official responsibilities and their

official oaths. Let them go out of office by all

means, and we shall at once have the value of

the American people think it not worthy of pre-

we doubt if it be worthy of preservation. But,

at any rate, if the Union can only be preserved

by sacrificing the freedom of the patriotic lead-

ers of the Democracy, we are for making the

issue distinctly, by permitting them quietly to

retire from their self-imposed task of adminis-

So far as we are concerned, therefore, and we

believe we have authority in this instance to

speak for the whole Republican party, the issue

of Union or Disunion, if, as declared, it depends

tering the Government.

the other way in all the States, the result aimed at will be far from accomplished. The whole North will, as we have said, stand by the cratic party, and permits it to enjoy the honors President elect, and insure his public inaugu-The country cannot fail to appreciate this ration on the east portico of the Capitol. Not disinterestedness. The majority of the American people are deeply sensible of the self-for-Potomac to prevent the inauguration. Though they have rights, and the miracle is performed. getting patriotism which prompts the leaders of Maryland may still be Pro-Slavery, her people At once a new and glorious hope dawns upon the Democracy thus to sacrifice the best interwill under no circumstances countens ests of their country on the altar of patriotism but at the same time the majority is too magrely upon the working and business men of nanimous to make the demand. The Democratic leaders should not be held in official du tionary force that could be brought from the rance vile when their patriotic emotions are at south side of the Potomac. boiling heat, and when they are ready, as soon

Recent events in Virginia have thrown not afford to be aggressive against any respect ulous North. We shall hear no more threats A large department of fire-eating eloquence has en completely spoiled, and rendered ridicu lous, by the ado of Governor Wise over John wn. If he had been killed at Harper's Fer the Union tried upon its merits. If a majority of serving, it ought to be dissolved; or even if a majority of the Southern people are tired of it, and imprison or hang the President. In such on's line would be ready to march to the rescue

upon the election of a President, is made up. We are willing to go before the country upon it, and to meet the consequences; and from present indications we have reason to believe that the alternative will be presented to our Democratic friends, of quietly submitting to the inauguration of a Republican President, or of boldly striking for a Southern Confederacy. Disunion, as an argument addressed to the fears of Northern conservatives, has always worked admirably, until recently; and even now it is not without its potency. But as a reality, it will present features anything but of her citizens. agreeable to the parties who threaten it. When

hurled at the manufacturing and commercial classes of the North, it is very well; it has had the effect of turning the scale in favor of the Democracy; but as a practical measure, it has Whig furnishes a hint which the disunionists always failed to command the suffrage of any of the South should not fail to improve. The considerable portion of the Southern people Whig says: to take steps looking to disunion, although the | making ready to leave for Charlestown, Lomax crats in the Senate, including those from the grievance complained of was as general as that B. Smith, a free man of color, and the well-known North, voted down Mr. Trumbull's amendment which the Slavery question presents. But even hastened to the office of the Mayor, and offered South Carolina, with Calhoun, McDuffie, Hayne, his services and those of his col theless voted unanimously for the main resolution. The leaders of the Sham Democracy are very anxious to cover up and keep out of sight the treasonable conduct of their own friends in Missouri; while the despicable attempt is made to implicate the Republican party in John Brown's invasion of promised by Mr. Clay in the amount of tariff capacity of body servants, and shave them, and duties, by way of compromise; but the principle of "protection," which South Carolina deple of "protection," which South Caronia de-clared to be unconstitutional, was adhered to; and in 1842, when the compromise tariff had by its terms gradually tapered down to the revenue standard, the principle of protection was again restored in all its vigor. Did South Carolina again resort to nullification as the of their fidelity and attachment to their own "rightful remedy?" Not at all. She quietly homes and real friends, of the Southern people submitted, and her own citizens were glad enough to be the instruments of the Federal flowerment in the collection of the revenue. Government in the collection of the revenue! family, under any circumstances. And yet the Not a voice of resistance was raised in that or Abolition villains at the North affect to mourn any other slaveholding State against the tariff over the sad condition of the Southern slave-

of 1842. Again, in 1850, the issue was presented to the people of that State, by her Legislature, of guard at Charlestown of slaves entirely, with registance or submission to the compromise of the exception of about one white man to ten that year, including the admission of California as a free State. The leaders of the "Democracy" made the issue, and the people, by a maority of between seven and eight thousand, de-

cided in favor of obeying the Federal laws. The same question was submitted to the people of Mississippi, and their verdict was equally lecisive in favor of obedience to measures which their leaders professed to regard as monstrous invasions of Southern rights.

Now, here are facts which should, and we b ieve will, teach wisdom to the leaders of the to ameliorate their black codes, give the ne-Southern Democracy. Are they willing to make another issue of disunion-an intangible issue, without even the allegation of an invasion of their constitutional rights, and go before their constituents? Are they not aware that a powerful Union party will immediately spring at once begin to organize black regiments up, as was the case in 1832 and 1850, and may they not reasonably look for a similar verdict for the Union? We have no idea that a maority of any Southern State will vote for a dis. olution of the Union, in consequence of the election of any man of any party to the Presidency, by legitimate means. A disunion enter-prise based on any such grounds could not be defended. The Opposition of the South would at once take sides with the Union in such a contest, and they would be sustained by a majority of those who now call themselves Democrats; and the effect of presenting the treasonable issue would be, to render the so-called Democracy as powerless in the South as it now is

in the free States. Before the Southern people can be induced to vote for a dissolution of the Union, as a mere measure of resistance to an Administration not of their choice, they will be compelled to look the consequences fully the in face. If their constitutional rights were invaded by the Federal Government-if any attempt had been made to take the control of their domestic affairs ont of their hands-the case would be different. In such a case, they might hope for sympathy than disinterested love. An Alabamian writing for the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer says:

among a large majority of the Northern people. The Northern "Democracy" and the "Ameri-"The writer has travelled from St. Louis to cans," at least, would in such a contest strongly condemn and oppose the Federal aggression; and we have little doubt that the Republicans, almost in a body, would oppose and restrain any such unconstitutional invasion of State rights. The South itself would be unani. mous in resisting Federal usurpation. But upon the issue now talked of by the leaders of the Sham Democracy, of resorting to disunion in the event of defeat, and of resisting the inaugu-ration of a Republican President, not a man

nenace. We have simply stated the case as it resents itself to our minds. If we have in the east exaggerated the obstacles in the way of accomplishing a severance of the Union, let the

by the Southern people, will put an extinguisher upon all such enterprises. They will vote down by overwhelming majorities, the proposed se sion. But, supposing the majorities to be a corporal's guard could be raised north of the union, and a Republican President could safely Baltimore to protect him against any revolu- fence! Their amor patric is awakened, and

able power, much less the great, free, and popmarching Southern armies upon the Capitol. ry, and there an end of the matter, or if only captain's company of the Jefferson county militia had been called upon to guard the jail and the execution, the preposterous threats and the vaunting pretensions to military prowess set up by the Slavery propagandists might still be relied upon to alarm the timid, and influence the votes of the conservative. But the bubble has burst, and the humbug is transparent to the boys on the streets. The advice of Governor Wise to the planters to stay at home and watch their negroes, while John Bown was executed, will become tenfold more necessary while an effort is making to seize Washington. a contest, every man north of Masons and Dix-But it is idle to suppose such a thing. Northmen will never be called upon to render such a service. If any body or set of men in Virginia, or south of Virginia, should be crazy enough to plan such an enterprise, Governor Wise would overwhelm them with proclama tions. The railroads leading to the Capitol from the Virginia side would be subjected to martial law, as was the road leading to Harper's Ferry: and no Southern man would be permitted by the wary Governor to cross the Potomac lest he might be of the crazy band. Gov. Wise will see to that. He is a man of peace, and will never permit his beloved State to be in volved in hostilities with the North by the folly

POWERFUL SOUTHERN RESOURCE

The following paragraph from the Richmon

"On Saturday night, when the troops we a condition infinitely superior, in all respects

to their own! "We wish the Governor had constituted the We think such a guard would have been willing to repose the utmost confidence in it." en amply sufficient. At least, we should have

Now, if the Union is to be dissolved, the Southern people must necessarily adopt this suggestion of the Richmond Whig. They will be compelled to change their policy, as it regards the negro race, free and slave, and, in stead of treating it with harsh tyranny and suspicion, necessity, which knows no law, will compel them to mitigate the rigor of Slavery, gro a sense of home, of love to the land of his birth, and then rely upon him to take up arms

in defence of his country. If the South wishes to be formidable, or even respectable, as an independent Power, it should Southern statesmen should study the policy of Russia towards her serfs. They will find that the serfs constitute her armies, and the fact is well known that the armies of no country are more faithful in their allegiance than those servile Muscovite hosts, who are inspired at once by a sense of the honor and confidence reposed in them, and by the promise of Freedom at the end of seven years. The allegiance of the free colored people might be secured at a still cheaper rate. It would only be necessary to protect them in the rights they now have by law, encourage them to educate themselves and children, and confide in them by organizing them into militia, or pay them as soldiers, to make them loyal and faithful.

Here, then, lies the path of safety for th South, whether in the Union or out of it. As a preliminary to the organization of black regiments of militia, she should at once remodel and ameliorate her code noir. She should show to the negroes that in future they are to be a part of the Commonwealth; that they have rights which will be protected; that at least the sanctity of marriage and other family relations will be recognised; the privilege of reading the according to the slaves the privilege of holding property, of suing and being sued, and of testifying in courts of justice. After adopting such arm and discipline the negroes as soldiers, and rely upon them to defend the country.

The effect of these regulations would be to increase the military strength of the South at least three-fold. This proposition is susceptible of lemonstration. Of the twelve millions of the state of the pomp of war attending the execution.'

"Now, every single assertion of this paragraph is altogether false. The citizens of Charged with being a Black Republican, and Abolitionist, and no Democrat."

No candid man could doubt that an Administration that could approve of the Lecompton fraud would hesitate to resort to bribery. Bribery is the fitting means of consummating such a measure; so that we have the strongest probability in support of the testimony of honorable members of Congress to the fact that the President and Cabinet have put up the public offices to sale to the strongest probability in support of the testimony of honorable members of Congress to the fact that the President and Cabinet have put up the public offices to sale to the strongest probability in support of the testimony of honorable members of Congress to the fact that the President and Cabinet have put up the public offices to sale to the strongest probability in support of the testimony of honorable members of Congress to the fact that the President and Cabinet have put up the public offices to sale to the strongest probability in support of the testimony of honorable members of Congress to the fact that the President and Cabinet have put up the public offices to sale to the strongest probability in support of the testimony of honorable members of Congress to the fact that the president and Cabinet have put up the public offices to sale to the strongest probability in support of the testimony of honorable members of Congress to the fact that the president and the additional 'pomp of war' was furnished. The proposi

would sustain the President elect, and insure any moment, under the leadership of a foreign ple of Kansas, amounting to millions of acres of we have enjoyed unreserved and intimate invader, to deluge the South in blood.

In estimating the military strength of the South, they must not only be subtracted from the aggregate population, but four millions of whites will be necessary to hold them in subjection, and they, too, must be deducted. Of he twelve millions inhabiting the Southern some sudden conversions took place on the eve States, therefore, only four millions are left free of the vote upon the measure in the House above presented, when they come to be looked at to cope with foreign enemies. Indeed, we believe that four millions of freemen, entirely un- the Adminstration with great viculence, turned trammeled by Slavery, would be stronger than about and voted for it. It is also well known the whole South is to-day, and abler to carry that members who supported that measure, and

But the negroes are naturally the most docile, confiding, and home-loving people in the world. snug berths at the public expense. Nothing would be easier than to transform them from enemies into faithful friends. A word from the Southern Legislatures will do it. Let them but be told that they are men, and that that so many volumes of Sermons are pubthem, that they have a country, a family, a lished, and find a ready sale. The statements home, and that the Government of the white man honors, trusts, relies upon them for dethey cease to be a terror and a source of weakness to the State. The South, with these modifications of its policy, would at once become apprehension at every breath of Freedom which osses Mason and Dixon's line.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT IN The Raleigh (N. C.) Standard of a recent ate contains a long address to the people of Association," which cannot fail to be regarded as an illustration of the "irrepressible conflict" which ever exists between Freedom and State, so that slave property may be compelled slave property is only \$75,462, while real estate, worth \$97,842,481, pays \$146,150. Here, then, is a striking instance of partiality to Slavery. One-half the slaves, worth fifty to seventy-five millions, at least, and estimated by the ty-five millions, at least, and twelve millions, late Head Master of Rugby School, and Regius Professional Regius Professions and Regius Profession and Regius Professi goes untaxed altogether; while the remaining half of the slaves are taxed only half as much as the land. There are other still greater inequalities; as, for instance, \$31,980,000, money aned, pays \$76,774 taxes, or more than \$248,567,800 worth of slave property! Here the discrimination in favor of Slavery is in a

The Workingmen's Association demand a change in the Constitution, so that property of all kinds may be taxed upon the ad valorem principle, or according to value. The present arrangement, which entirely exempts young slaves from taxes, would seem to have been designed to encourage the rearing of slaves for market; or, at any rate, such is its effect. On the other hand, capital vested in manufacturing and merchandise is taxed enormously. A thousand dollars worth of land pays \$1.50. on the great topics of interest connected with negro worth that amount, or even twelve or fifteen hundred dollars, only pays 50 cents tax; while a thousand dollars invested in manufacturing, is taxed ten dollars! Is it surprising that a State which adheres to this policy is more remarkable for the number of slaves it rears for market than for the amount of its manufactures?

This is an important movement in North Carolina—important as well for the character new edition of his life and correspondence is and influence of the men engaged in it, as for its object. Its movers are not obscure " visionaries." but prominent and leading members of both political parties; and although the Address disclaims party purposes, it is not improbable that a new organization of parties will grow out of it. The Standard is the leading Democratic paper in the State, and the editor is ambitious of being Governor or United States Senator. We understand that he favors the movement; while the State Senator from Wake, a Democrat, is a prime mover in the enterprise, and probably the author of the Address. It finds favor in the western part of the State with all parties, and is published with approbation by the Greensborough Patriot, the eading Opposition organ in that section. The Patriot says that it is satisfied, from the signs of the times, that the Opposition State Convention will take ground for a change in the Constitution, so as to engraft the ad valorem principle of taxation upon it, at the peril of the western members seceding, and running an independent ticket.

ATTEMPTS AT BRIBERY.

One of the most foul transactions recorded in the history of modern civilization was the attempt to force the Lecompton Constitution upon the people of Kansas. Our readers can never forget the leading facts connected with that affair. They remember that the "Constitution" was framed by a Convention elected by Missouri Ruffians, in which not one in ten of the inhabitants of the Territory took part; and that, notwithstanding the notoriety of the facts, the Administration of Mr. Buchanan exerted all its power and influence to have the State forced into the Union under the fraudulent Constitution. But it was not publicly known that the Administration resorted to bribery to accomplish its tyrannical purpose. That fact has now come to light. Mr. Hickman, in the speech which we noticed last week, stated that the President and Cabinet had attempted to purchase his support, and " had offered him more than he was worth." Mr. Adrain, of New Jersey, has been more explicit, and makes the following tatement on the floor of Congress:

"During the Lecompton controversy, I was approached in such a manner as shows corruption on the part of the Administration. If I had only given my support to the Lecompton policy, I was assured that I could secure a foreign appointment for one most near and dear to me. A leading member of the House at that time came to me, whispering in my ear, "Sir, it is all settled in the Cabinet." "What is settled?" "Why, that one who is nearest to you by the dearest ties of blood, is to receive to you by the dearest ties of blood, is to receive to the Administration to make the appointment." My reply was, "Send word to the Administration to make the appointment, and I intend to resist it to the last in its infamous attempt to force a Constitution on the people of Kansas, against their will." I did resist it, and because I did resist it, I was charged with being a Black Republican, and is altogether false. The citizens of the pomp of war attending the execution."

the event of defeat, and of resisting the inaugurration of a Republican President, not a man north of Mason and Diron's line would dare to take sides with or even to apologize for them, while the South itself would be divided. The whole weight of the united North, and at least a large and respectable portion of the South,

the public lands, as an inducement to its ac-

The above statements only reveal unsuccess ful attempts at bribery; but the country may were purchased. It is, however, known that and that men who had assailed the fraud and have in consequence been left at home by their constituents, have been provided with

THE REVIEW. Sermons Preached and Revised by the Rev. C H. Spu

It is a striking feature of the present day

and estimates on this subject show that numerous editions quickly follow each other, in consequence of the eager demand. Among the preachers and authors so having gained on the mind of the religious public, no one has been more successful, or perhaps as greatly so, flood of light upon this subject. The South can- great and powerful, and cease to tremble with as Mr. Spurgeon. The characteristics of his preaching have become familiar to all. With every deduction for the influence secured by his first appearance—a mere youth, and the outburst of applause that has rendered him popular, now that time sufficient has elapsed to fix or mar his reputation, no man can doubt that the man who continues still to enchain such the State, by the "Wake County Workingmen's multitudes of every variety of taste and character can be no ordinary man; that not merely has he oratorical capacities of voice or manner but that in mind and thought he possesses, too, Slavery. The object of the Association is to a sustaining power, for which, at first, he did bring about an equalization of taxation in the not probably receive his due credit. Every successive volume, in some respects of a higher to pay its equal portion of the public burdens. east than the previous one, we think indicates The Constitution of the State, as it was remod- this. There is material to be wrought np, and elled in 1835, provides that slaves between the which, with a glowing heart of piety and an ages of twelve and fifty years shall be subject earnest eloquence he does work out into origito a poll or capitation tax, equal to that paid nal forms and shapes of exhibited truth, fitted by white men; and that those over fifty and to impress and lead to action. It will not be under twelve, shall be entirely exempt from surprising that sometimes he is careless in retaxes. According to the Address of the As- peating statements as respects operations in sociation, this leaves 187,613 slaves, worth other countries, which he must gain at second | the attention of our readers to the Prosp \$112,567,800, untaxed. The 150,925 who are hand, and in his rapid outpouring of ideas there of the Saturday Evening Post, in our adubject to taxation, are valued at \$139,000,000, is that which will not bear the test of thorough sing columns. The Post is considered by m and the tax paid on this highly productive criticism. We notice such instances in this the best, as it is the oldest, of the weekly volume, but still we are glad to have so much solemn truth, the Gospel of Salvation, so well and beautiful steel engraving, called presented in these pages. May it find many Speaking Likeness," as a premium to

sor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. By Arthur Perrhyn Stan'ey, M. A., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford. In two volumes. Third American from the last London Edition. Boston: Ticknor & Pields. 1860. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C. The life and correspondence of such a man

as Dr. Arnold, when first presented to the readng public, was hailed with sincere gratification by all who were acquainted with his standing in Great Britain. One of the best teachers o one of their best preparatory schools, a man of high and independent purpose and feelings, living in most stirring times, both as to events and progress in Church and State, he made his mark on his own age and generation, and has left too, by his pupils and his published writings, an influence on many succeeding ages and generations. The opinions of such a man education, morals, politics, and religion, are undeterred by fear or favor; and through all the the whole South. The Enquirer says struggles of conflicting interests, while exposed to opposition and obloquy, never swerves from his purpose. Such men, and such bold and manly protests against high assumptions, are needed in every period of the world's history, and in none more than in the present. A therefore timely. Dr. Arnold was also most fortunate in his biographer. Prof. Stanley is an author of high reputation, and he has exercised a fine judgment in his use of the materials at his command, and thus given us a most interesting transcript of the life and views of his distinguished subject. The Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, too, have now added the charms of their typography to render their edition of a valuable work in this respect all that could be wished.

Sermons by Richard Fuller, D., D, of Baltimore. New York: Sheldon & Company, &c. 1860. For sale by William Ballantyre, Washington, D. C.

The author of this volume ranks among the ost eloquent of the Baptist preachers of our tion" to the Democratic party. ountry. In his " Dedication," he states that these discourses are given very much as they were delivered." The topics discussed and ilustrated are such as are interesting to thought of the United States Supreme Court, pub ful Christian readers. The title of the first of in the Nashville Union a strong and man them, especially, is suggestive of originality of monstrance against the base and co selection and treatment, "The Lonesomeness proposition now pending before the Lonesomeness of Jesus." Dr. Fuller is clear, practical in his ture of that State, to expel or enslave the statement of Divine truth, and presents the negroes. He denounces it like an solemn obligations resting on his hearers as a Christian gentleman; but the "Demoi man who himself feels what he utters. There newspaper in which the letter of Judge is no attempt at display, no loading of the sen- pears, expresses its "decided disappro tences with mere words, but his aim evidently of the spirit and character of the obje is to make such an exhibition of the message | which he makes to the measure." This he has to deliver as may be accompanied with to be expected from the organ of "the g the blessing of God. We may not class these National Democratic party;" and the won sermons among the highest specimens of intel- is, that Judge Catron, a member of the party lectual treats, but to any one who loves a spir- should have avowed such heresy. itual, nourishing, not exciting food, which may prepare for duty and trial by an humble and olid trust in the promises of his Heavenly Father and the grace of the Redeemer, we doubt not this volume will afford material for the wants of the soul, by which he may be strengthened and made better to live, and for the hour of death.

NOT FRIGHTENED. The Richmond Enquirer has a singular way

f repelling the imputation that the people of Virginia are frightened. After denouncing such Abolition " journals as the New York Times, Harper's Weckly, and Frank Leslie's pictorial paper, for their scandalous imputations upon the courage of Virginia, the Enquirer goes on to sav: "Among these, our attention has been called

to the following extract from the Baltimore Ex-change of the 9th instant:

"It may be well to state here, that there never has been any great alarm among the citnever has been any great anomy the cit-izens of Charlestown. The immense military display was not of their asking. They were satisfied with the military of their immediate neighborhood, which was under the command

number of troops might invite an attack from the organization known to be on foot among John Brown's sympathizers. A number of the most respectable citizens made representation to this effect to Col. Davis. During a stay in Charleston of a contract of the contract of th

tercourse with the citizens of the town, as we as with all ranks and descriptions of the mi tary, we have not conversed on the the conviction that an attempt at rescue he been prevented only by the large increase the military force at Charlestown."

The Richmond Morning News, the Botts per, expresses the wish that the " Democrati embers of the House may retire en masse if Republican Speaker is elected, as nothing be easier than to supply their places with be ter men. But the News has no hope of such the result until rivers commence flowing up to hills. The country may rest assured of the Not one of these men but knew, while canyage ing for election to Congress, that they wonli have to encounter the Republicans, with strong probability that the latter would ore ize the House. They would never have intrigued as they did for their nominations, a then have resorted to all sorts of demagogies tricks and misrepresentations, merely for honor of coming to Washington, to resign disgust, without pay! They will be here use the fourth of March, 1861, at the least, and predict that nine-tenths of them will intrigue the honor of serving another term. It is equ ly certain that every Southern Senator wi term extends beyond that period will, if ali respond to the call of the incoming Republic President, for an extra session to sit upon h cominations for office. This much is corte

THE COMMONWEALTH HOMPSTEAD rion.-We have received a circular from Secretary of this Association, Mr. H. C. 8 son, Wabashaw, Minnesota. It is propose plant a new free State in the Western Ter ries, on the line of a Pacific railroad, with guaranty of a homestead of eighty acreeach settler, with forty acres to be held in to for each child. Schools, churches, colllibraries, and other appliances of civiliza are to be established; and the Association claim that they intend to inaugurate a new in which justice and common sense are to the supreme law. This is an admirable if it can be reduced to practice.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST-A PREM ENGRAPING TO EVERY SUBSCRIBER.-We pers. For 1860, we perceive, it offers a la subscriber. It offers also two other large engravings of "The Falls of Niagara" premium to the getters up of Clubs. The tributors to the Post are not excelled by of any other paper. See Prospects

PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN. C. H. Brainard, of Boston, has published all and excellent lithographic portrait of Capi Brown, copied from a photograph taken Boston in May last. It is a very life-like spirited picture, and is probably the best ness of him ever taken. Dr. Webb, of Bo for whom the original photograph was to certifies that the drawing is a faithful co the photograph, and the most accurate ness of Captain Brown which he has ever For terms we refer our readers to the adverment of the publisher, in another column

Non-Intercourse.-The Richmond I ver despairs of any good result from the per tercourse proposed in the Virginia Legis

"We do not propose any Southern Co be the subject of State reflection, as they become of State action-but we propos Virginia shall appoint comp more, to meet similar commissioners fro Southern States, whose duty it shall be to inate and frame the principle of non-in into such laws as wil the different State Legislatures. The co the Southern States, of tried and tested for

This may be regarded as Governor plan for bringing about a Confederacy Southern States. He is a leading Demo candidate for the Presidency.

The Enquirer seems to be in favor cluding Baltimore from the Southern trade batred of Abolitionism is but little more in than its detestation of all forms of "O

EXPULSION OF THE FREE NEGROES FROM NESSEE .- Judge Catron, of Tennessee, a j

A CANDID SLAVERY PROPAGANDIST. Curry, of Alabama, in an able Pro-Sh speech some days ago, declared "from the tom of his heart" that he acquitted the B lican party of all complicity with the Ha Ferry affair. He also said that he ac in good faith the explanation which had given of the connection of Republican bers with the Helper book. What next? we have grapes of thorns, and figs of this

Doings in the Missouri Legislates lispatch from Jefferson city announces the eat, in the Senate of Missouri, of the misbill to compel to leave the State or ensist free colored population of the State. The more mild than the majority bill, and provisions certain classes of negroes were itted to remain. The vote of bill was, ayes 11, noes 22. bill was, ayes 11, noes 22. The vote in taken on the passage of the majority sulting, ayes 22, noes 10. A bill is about reported to the Legislature, making a de of two millions to the Pacific railroad, all lion to the Southwest branch, one million Platte county branch, and to pay the idue on the Iron Mountain road to is 1861, and to release the North Missouria Il liabilities.

GREAT UNION MEETING AT NET JEUT. GEN. SCOTT NOMINATED FORT ing to-night was an immense gather estimated that 30,000 people were

ELECTION OF A U. S. SENATOR PROF. New Orleans, Dec. 15.—The Legisland Texas has elected Mr. Wigfall, a regular to fill the control of the control

L. JAY S. TURNEY, ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT L (And State's Attorney for Twelfth Julii

Fairfield, Wayne county, Illino

could still render a verdict of guilty? Judg

Cadwalader said yes, but he considered it his duty to say that there was nothing in this case

to justify conviction, and if such a rerdict were rendered, he would set it aside. The jury again retired, and did not return into court until the

next morning, when, not having agreed upon a

"The course of the Judge is the subject of good deal of comment out of doors. Som mouths ago, in course of a similar trial, he is

they convict the defendant, he will set the

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and for the parpose of present-ing candidates for the offices of President and

1. Resolve, That the maintenance of the prin

stitution, are essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Fed

2. Resolved, That, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth,

that all men are endowed with the unalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happi-

ess; and that the primary object and ulte

design of our Federal Government were to se-cure those rights to all persons within its ex-

clusive jurisdiction; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our National Territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property,

without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it, to prevent the establishment of Slavery in the Territories of

the United States by positive legislation pro-hibiting its existence therein. And we deny

the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legis-

ature, of any individual or association of indi-

viduals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

2 Resolved That the Constitution confers

upon Congress sovereign power over the Terri-tories of the United States for their govern-

ment, and that in the exercise of this power i

is both the right and the duty of Congress to

prohibit in its Territories those twin relics of

barbarism, Polygamy and Slavery.

4. Resolved, That while the Constitution of

the United States was ordained and established

by the people in order to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tran-

quillity, provide for the common defence, and

secure the blessings of liberty," and contains

ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property, of every citizen, the dear-

Spurious and pretended Legislative, Judicial,

and Executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the

and unconstitutional laws have been enacted

The right of an accused person to a speedy

The right of the people to be secure in their

persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been

They have been deprived of life, liberty, and

The right to choose their Representatives has

the President, his advisers, agents, supporters apologists, and accessories either before or after

the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and con-

dign punishment hereafter.

5. Resolved, That Kansas should be imme

diately admitted as a State of the Union, with

her present Free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens

the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil

strife now raging in her Territory.

6. Resolved, That the highwayman's plea

that "might makes right," embodied in the Os

tend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people

that gave it their sanction.
7. Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific

ernment ought to render immediate and effi-cient aid in its construction, and, as an auxilia-

ry thereto, the immediate construction of an

property, without due process of law;
That the freedom of speech and of the press

has been abridged;

and public trial by an impartial jury has been

ilitary power of the Government, tyrannical

ice President, do

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"No one, it seems to me, can arise from perusing his word, without deepening convictions of the wrong o slaveholding, and of the necessity of estreet and pervise ant effort for the deliverance of our National Covernment from the control of the Slave Power.

"Yours, truly,

S. P. CHASE."

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First Session

Tuesday, December 13, 1859 SENATE.

Mr. King presented a petition from Daniel F. Semann, mayor of New York, and a very large umber of the most influential citizens of that number of the city and State, urging upon Congress the pas-city and State, urging upon Congress the pas-sage of a law to prevent all further traffic in and monopoly of the public lands, and that they he laid out in small farms, for the free and exlusive use of actual settlers.

The resolution of Mr. Mason, in relation

Harper's Ferry affair, came up as unfined business, the question pending being the endment of Mr. Trumbull, to extend the inquiry to the capture of the public armories, Ac. at Liberty, in the State of Missouri, in the

in a speech designed to show that the outbreak legitimate result of the doctrines inculwas the legitimate result of the doctrines incur-cated by the Republican party. It did not be-come him to predict what Alabama would do in-case a Republican President should be chosen at the next election; but he would say that, the next election, but he would say that, inless lost to every principle of civil duty and political integrity, she would withdraw from a onfederacy thus perverted from its original onception into a badge of disgrace and an

gine of oppression to the South.

Mr. Gwin thought, in view of the solemn relarations made by Mr. Clay, it behooved blican Senators to pause in their career thought there was a great delusion prevail-at the North, in regard both to the proba-ity and practicability of a dissolution of the It was more probable than many suped, and its practicability was capable of demonstration; and disunion, whenever enecessary to the South, would be as safe as it was practicable, for she had no foes to fear from abroad or within. The people of California were unanimous in their allegiance to the Constitution and the Union; and it was cause of this sentiment that Northern Senators not to disregard the intima-tions of Southern sentiment with regard to the onsequences of a Republican triumph in 1860. He hoped that love of party might not prove perior to love of country.

Mr. Hale said such declarations were well

alculated to disturb a political illusion which he Northern States had hitherto cherished, in innosing themselves equal to their sister States of the South. They were now plainly told that if they pursued a certain line of policy, marked out for them in advance by kind guardians, all would be well; but if, consulting their own views of political duty, they should elect, in a erfectly constitutional way, the man of their ge followed by a dissolution of this Union. On what pretence did the people of the South hus assume to deny to the people of the North he same privilege which they claimed for hemselves in exercising the elective franchise? lad it come to this, that the North was ex pected to go through the farce of an election rely for the purpose of ratifying the edicts he South? Was it expected that Northern en would falsify their honest political and constitutional convictions in subservience to raven fear? If so, he ventured to predict that the next election would sufficiently demon trate the fallacy of any such expectations. abject, they were unworthy the political compan-ionship of men claiming to be high-minded and chivalrous; and if he thought as meanly of he South as the authors of such threats seeme think of the North, he would not wish to Gwin briefly reaffirmed his positions and hoped that the spirit of party might not

was foreseen would be fraught with danger to in its opposition to the spread of Slavery, was incited by any hostility to slaveholders. That class ens were everywhere received by the North with all the courtesy attaching to their private worth or official position. The Senator from Alabama might visit Boston, not only with safebut with assurance of a kind reception from classes. On the contrary, it was notorious pardy if he should venture within the an index of Southern sentiment on this score, it was worthy of remark that a price had been set upon the head of Republican Senators and Representatives by a public advertisement inserted in Southern journals. The people o social and political evil, without being prompt Mr. Clay rejoined.

. Wade, of Ohio, obtained the floor, when the Senate adjourned.

Wednesday, December 14, 1859. SENATE. Mr. Mason's resolution again coming up, Mr Wade, remarked on the injustice done to the Republican party in imputing to it purposes and objects hostile to Slavery in the States, and expressed the opinion that, if there was th from the circulation of ncendiary sentiments, nothing could be more ious than the impression sedulously inculcated in that quarter to the effect that a great party at the North was striving to effect the forcible or unconstitutional emancipation of the negro race. Equally unfounded was the statement that the Republicans sympathized with the nefarious attack of old John Brown on Harper's Ferry. He had not found a man woman, or child, at the North, who approved that act, or who questioned the right ginia to punish it as she saw fit: but there was ons as irresistible as the instincts of hu-He was honored for those traits of bravery, honesty, and sincerity, awarded to him Governor Wise, in common with others. eover, the people of the North saw in him their former champion and defender at a time when the feeble settlements of the Free-State men of Kansas were devastated by fire and sword, under an irruption of ruffianism from dissouri. When three years ago a cry came p from that Territory, calling upon Congress and the Federal Government for relief from and received no audience from that day to the e Free-State men found in John Brown a leader, who drove back the invaders and for this service he had a claim on the ratitude of the people of the North, who could riminate between what was good in the and what was evil. When he spoke of outrages and murders in Kansas, he spoke of what he knew. Former constituents f his, residents in that Territory, had been aurdered in cold blood; but, because these crimes were committed in a remote region of the country, they failed to attract attention at he South. Now, when the evil was brought to own doors, she was instant to claim redress. Mr. Wade then proceeded to review the posin assumed by the Republican party in the atter of Slavery. That party deplored and red Slavery in the same spirit with the it abstained from all interference with the institution in the States. It was notorious that the South had within the last five or ten ery, proclaiming it not only divine in origin haracter, but indispensable to the highest lopment of civilization. The sentiments of hington, Jefferson, and Madison, were now repudiated, and it was safe to say, that if the Father of his Country were today to avow in Virginia the opinions he cherished and pro-claimed on this subject while living, he would driven from the State as a vile Abolitionist t behooved Southern men to exercise charity owards the North for holding on this subject he same opinions which but a few years ago were universal at the South. He had no desire to war on Slavery in the States, for he was no

THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, Union was a natural as well as a civil necessity. Any President, chosen by a majority of the American people in a constitutional way, would preside over an unbroken Confederacy, unless it were the determined purpose of some at the South to break up this Government with a wowed himself in favor of a dissolution of the line of the Routhlieurs around the south that a wowed himself in favor of a dissolution of the line of the Routhlieurs around th

begin at once; for it would be as easy to effect their object now as at any future day.

During the course of his remarks, Mr. Wade replied to the accusations brought against Mr. John Sherman, the candidate of the Republican party in the House of Representatives for the office of Speaker. He was glad to find that nothing could be brought against that gentleman, except that he had signed a circular recommending the distribution of a pamphlet written by Mr. Helper, of North Carolina. He (Mr. W.) had read that pamphlet, and saw nothing in it which rendered it unfit for perusal by American readers, however much he might by American readers, however much he might by American readers, however much he might by Deposed to some of its doctrines and recome opposed to some of its doctrines and recom-

Mr. Brown called the attention of Mr. Wade o some paragraphs in the pamphlet recom-nending the withdrawal of non-slaveholders from all personal association with or patronage of slaveholders.

Mr. Wade explained that he disapproved of

all such intolerant and unwarrantable senti-ments, but he supposed that in this free coun-try it was lawful to circulate works which might not meet the approval of all minds. The public intelligence might be trusted to discriminate etween the good and the bad. At least, that was the Northern conviction on the subject.
The Helper pamphlet contained nothing against
Slavery and its economical disadvantages
which was not substantially endorsed by Mr. Letcher, the Governor-elect of Virginia, who had requested the publication of the address delivered by the Rev. Dr. Ruffner on the social

evils of Slavery.

The discussion was further continued by Messrs. Hunter, Wilson, Brown, Cligman, Mallory, Wade, Mason, and others.

The discussion having come to a close at this

point, a vote was taken on the adoption of the amendment proposed by Mr. Trumbull, calling for an investigation into the facts and circumstances attending the capture of the United States Armory at Liberty, Missouri, by a mob of Missourians, prior to the alleged invasion of the Territory of Kansas in December, 1855. The amendment was rejected—yeas 22, nays 32.

[A strict party vote.]
The question then recurring on the adoption of Mr. Mason's resolution, it was passed unanimously, fifty-five Senators voting in the affirma-

tive.
On motion of Mr. Mason, it was resolved that the committee of investigation should consist of five, to be appointed by the President of the ing to advance, as presiding officer of this body, Senate.

The Senate then proceeded to hold an Exec-

utive session. HOUSE. The House met at the usual hour, when Mr. McRae resumed his remarks from yesterday, down this sectional and destructive organizaand spoke at great length.

and spoke at great length.

Mr. Carter, after condemning the vituperation and abuse which had been indulged, gave tion and abuse which had been induged, gave his reasons why he had sustained and voted for Mr. Seward, and said, even it there Mr. Sherman as Speaker. The people, he said, were such a conflict between free and slave labor, did it become a Senator of the United tution. Let us discharge our duties, and the people in due time will discharge theirs.

Mr. Winslow moved that the House pro-

to vote for Speaker.

As a preliminary to this, the House was ty to be present.
Mr. Clark, of Missouri, wanted first the vote

to vote for Speaker with the following result: Sherman, 108; Bocock, 86; Gilmer, 22; On this vote, four members—two Republican

and two Democrats—were paired off. Messrs.

Adams, Brown of Ky., and Stallworth of Ala., are still absent.

Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, then took the door, but before concluding his speech the

House adjourned.

House adjourned.

Thursday, December 15, 1859.
SENATE.
In the Senate, to-day, Mr. Hale moved that when the Senate adjourn, it be to meet again

The Vice President announced the following Committee of five to carry out Mr. Mason's Harper's Ferry resolution adopted vesterday: Messrs. Mason, Davis, Collamer, Fitch, and

introduce a bill to increase the pay of navy

Mr. Pugh offered a joint resolution, requiring all laws passed by the Legislatures of New Mexico and Utah Territories to be submitted to Congress, for approval or rejection; laid

On motion of Mr. Foote, the Senate proceeded to the election of Chaplain.

On the first ballot, the vote stood: Rev. P. D. Gurley, 24; Rev. Byron Sunderland, 15-Rev. Dabney Ball, 9; Rev. Mr. Foster, 2; Rev Mr. Morsell, 1; Rev. Mr. Cheever, 1.

Whole number of votes, 52—necessary to a choice, 27; and 24 being the highest number received by any one person, there was no elec On the second ballot, the vote stood: Rev. P. D. Gurley, 35; Rev. Byron Sunderland, 13; Rev. Dabney Ball, 1; Rev. Mr. Morsell, 1. Whole number of votes, 50-necessary to a

choice, 27; and the Rev. P. D. Gurley, receive ing 35 votes, was declared elected. The Senate then adjourned.

HOUSE.

After the reading of the journal, Mr. Vallandigham resumed the floor, and spoke at much

effect that the House, on each day, proceed to vote for Speaker at one o'clock, and vote three times thereafter before adjournment on that day.
Several members objected to its considera-

tion at that time.

Mr. Clemens, of Virginia, hoped that such a resolution would be adopted. He was disabled in body, and was greatly wearied by the pro-longed sessions. As it was now, a vote could of unsoundness, which did not come with a good be sprung at any time by the members on the Republican side of the House, and the opportunity would and ought to be taken advantage of by them to do so when members on that side tunity would and ought to be taken adva

Democrats.

Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, then proceeded to Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, then proceeded to address the House. He said that he should hold up to the public Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, as the exponent of the Anti-Slavery feeling and sentiment. In further defending the South, he said, that while the North believed that Slavery as the exponent of the Anti-Slavery feeling and sentiment. In further defending the South, he said, that while the North believed that Slavery was a crime, and while the South believed it was right, there never could be an adjustment of the question. He denied that the South had violated any of its obligations; and, in concluding his remarks, said he was authorized to speak for the Georgia Democrats, when he said that they would never anomit to the inauguration of a Black Republican President. For himself, he preferred independence out rather himself, he preferred independence out rather never have given that vote, and said that Mr than in the Union.

[This remark was applauded on the Demo-

cratic side.]
Mr. Bonham took the floor, but yielded it to
Mr. Clemens, who moved that the House
proceed to vote for a Speaker.
Preliminary to this, there was a call of the Two votes for Speaker were taken-Sherman each time receiving 110, and Mr. Bo-cock 85. Mr. Gilmer's last vote was 18, and Mr.

ing votes. Whole number of votes cast, 226; necessary to a choice, 114.

Messrs. Haskin, Hickman, and Schwartz, more responsible for it there than in Turkey; but its extension to free Territory and its modern claim to run riot throughout the land presented a very different question; nor did it follow, because he deemed Slavery a wrong and a curse, that he hated slaveholders or denounced the slaveholders or denounced the slaveholders.

went over to Mr. Sherman. Some gentlemen who did not vote to-day had paired off.

without cause. If so, they might as well Union, if the Republicans succeed in electing a President in 1860.

Mr. Millson made an explanation, to the ef-

floor. He hoped, however, no necessit would arise for the exercise of this power.

Correction.—Mr. Vallandigham was mi derstood yesterday by the reporter. He said nothing about Slavery in the Territories.

Saturday, December 17, 1859. The Senate was not in session to-day.

HOUSE.
To-day, after the reading of the journal, Mr. Vallandigham rose to correct several serious errors in the report of his speech pub-lished in the New York *Herald*.

Mr. Larrabee, of Wisconsin, asked the privi-lege of having read from the Clerk's desk several resolutions of German citizens of Milwaukie, published in the Milwaukie Free Democrat, of Wisconsin, a Republican sheet; which resolutions fully endorsed the action of John Brown in his recent foray upon Virginia, and which were sustained by that paper. He felt it his duty to rise at this time, and disavow such sentiments as being those of the German people of his State.

He then proceeded to call upon the Anti-Le compton Democrats, of which he was one, to unite with the Democrats of this House in defeating the candidate of the Republican party. There was a difference between the Anti-Lecompton Democrats of the North and those of the Northwest; the latter had always sustained the Administration in every action, except the

Lecompton issue.

He held that no man could make any pr tensions to be a Democrat who would give aid and comfort to the Republican party on this floor, either by his vote or by his word. He denounced the Helper book; the candidate of his party did not. How great, indeed, would be the responsibility of the gentlemen-

a member entertaining such sentiments as were proclaimed by that book. The Anti-Lecomptonites were elected Democrats. Let them, then, cast their vote for the Democratic candidate, and thus frown on her own soil. He said, so far as this article

tion of the Republican party; especially did he appeal to those of the West and Northwest.

He adverted to the "irrepressible conflict" doctrine of Mr. Seward, and said, even if there e know how many John Browns there were listening to him, who were ready at any mo-ment to act practically upon such a sentiment. He did not believe there was an "irrepressi-ble conflict" between free and slave labor; but called, in order to give absentees an opportuni-the trouble was, there was a difference in the races of men. The African in America was out of his place. Did he not possess charactertaken on his resolution, but, after some conver-sation, he gave way, and the House proceeded white men? The one was guided by his intellect, while the other was controlled by his will.

He then referred to the distinguished characteristics between the white and the red man. The Indian was so constituted that he could the Republic.
After Mr. L. had concluded his speech,

Mr. Grow moved to proceed to vote for Speaker, after a call of the House had been was understood that his colleague [Mr. Singleton] would be entitled to the floor after the vote

had been taken.
With this understanding, there was a call of the House, when a ballot was had with the following result: Whole number of votes cast, 228; necessary to a choice, 115.

Mr. Sherman received 111; Bocock, 85; Mr. Boteler, 23; scattering, 9.

There being no choice, the House again voted, with the following result: Whole number

of votes, 228; necessary to a choice, 115. Mr. Sherman received 111; Mr. Bocock, 84. The remainder of the votes were scatter nong other gentlemen. The House then ad-

Monday, December 19, 1859.

SENATE.

The Vice President being absent, Mr. Bright moved that Mr. Fitzpatrick be appointed President of the Senate pro tempore.

Mr. Foot said the more recent practice

Senate had been to proceed to ballot.

The Senate then balloted, and Mr. Fitzpatrick was elected, receiving 33 votes; Mr. Fos-ter received 19 votes, and Mr. Hamlin 1 vote. Mr. Fitzpatrick took the chair, returning his thanks to the Senate for this renewed mark of

The Chair presented the report of the Treasurer of the United States, with copies of his accounts for the third and fourth quarters of the

year 1859.

Mr. Mason asked that his investigating committee be authorized to employ a clerk; which was agreed to.
Mr. Pugh called up his resolution submitted

ast Thursday.

Mr. Hale said it was not in order to proceed legislative business prior to the organization

of the House.

Mr. Pugh stated that he desired to reply t the remarks of Mr. Iverson the other day, and he cared not whether he spoke on the resolu-tion or on a point of order. He desired to de-fend the Northern Democracy from the charge grace from those in the South who had not don so much for the party as Northerners. He spoke of the difficulty in the North of battling against sectionalism and defending the right of were absent.

Mr. Craw'ord said his friends around him objected to the introduction of the resolution.

Mr. Clemens appealed to gentlemen to adopt the resolution, saying that, otherwise, the Republicans might take a vote in the absence of Democratic and the said they never elected a Senator in Georgia to be judge of the soundness of the Democracy. He repudiated the sentiment, that the position of Mr. Douglas on Territorial rights was akin to the Wilmot propulation.

in the Congressional Globe, showing that Mr. Cass sustained the same position.

Mr. Pugh quoted from a speech delivered in the House of Representatives eleven years ago by Mr. Iverson himself, which was as strong in Gwin did not vote of his own notion, but was instructed by the California Legislature to give that vote, and that Legislature wrote down for him in that instruction what he thought the Kansas-Nebraska bill meant.

Mr. Gwin. I voted before the instructions got

here.
Mr. Pugh. I do not suppose the Senator pre-tends that he is a better exponent of the views of his State than her Legislature is. He then of his State than her Legislature is. He then read the "squatter-sovereignty" platform of California, remarking that this odious epithet, which has been used to frighten people from their propriety, was invented for the benefit of California, and was first applied to her in the formation of ker State Constitution. He did not see any safe ground on which the advocates of the Legympton Constitution could stand cates of the Lecompton Constitution could stand for one moment, if the doctrine annuanced by the Senator from Georgia was to be the doc-

And a curse, that he hated slaveholders or denounced them as criminals. He did neither. He was free to say that Slavery, as an existing institution at the South, might be a civil necestity, for men could not always conform the figure of society to their theoretical conceptions of right and justice; but for this it did not follow that the principles of right and justice should be ignored.

The Senate closed his remarks by deploring the threats of Southern Senators in case a Republican President should be chosen at the next election. He did not believe this Union could be disrupted by any such event, for the

covenant of the Kansas bill, and on that text to preach sermons on the soundness or unsoundness of the Democracy of the Northern States.

He proceeded to allude to a speech of Mr. Gwin, delivered in Grass Valley, California, in which it was stated that Mr. Douglas was deposed from the chairmanship of the Committee on Territories, on account of his views on the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He would not stand up here to defend the Search force. here to defend the Senator from Illinois, who was abundantly able to speak for himself, but if he was expelled from that position for that cause, they would thereby expel ninety-nine hundredths of the Democracy in every non-

slaveholding State.

This was no longer a question of individuals, This was no longer a question of individuals, but of principle; and instead of assaulting a man in his absence, it would be more manly to do as the Senator from Georgia has done, and arraign the entire party. He never saw anyarraign the entire party. He never saw anything in the Lecompton case that ought to divide parties, or make it necessary to make any changes in committees. He thought, however, that Judge Douglas was not removed for that. After he had made his speech in the Senate, denouncing the Lecompton Constitution, and taking issue with almost the entire body of Democratic Senators, North and South, and after he had taken issue with the Administration, the Senate proceeded to put him again at the head of the Committee on Territories, and he staid there till the Lecompton controversy was dead and buried. He wanted to knew whether Democratic Senators from Northern States recognised this as a test of Democrat

fellowship.

Mr. Rice said he was a party to the act ro moving Judge Douglas from the Territoria Mr. Pugh went on to declare that the Sens

torial usage in regard to appointing committees was intolerably bad, and had operated to give Senators from slaveholding States the chair o every single committee controlling the public business in this body. The Senator from Illinois was the only exception, and he had been decapitated. Mr. Iverson said he would reply to these re

marks on some future occasion.

A long colloquy took place between Messrs.
Gwin, Davis, Lane, and Brown, who expressed their views in regard to the power of Congress to exclude or establish Slavery in the Territories. After they had concluded, the Senate ad

HOUSE. Mr. Gilmer caused to be read a newspar article, commenting on an extract from the Boston Tract Journal, associating his name offensively with Helper's book, and saying, among other things, that the South should loo about to see whether or not there were traitors applied to him, it was an infamous and mali-cious fabrication and falsehood from beginning to end. If he had ever received Helper's book as charged, it must have been through the mail but he had no knowledge that the book ever came into his possession. Certainly he had never read a solitary word of it. Ever since he had refused to act with the Democrats on the Lecompton Constitution, which he believes to be an infamous fraud and swindle, he had been pursued with the ferocity of a tiger and the malignity of a devil. He repeated that the whole publication, as far as it has intended to

affect him, is a lie from beginning to end.
Mr. Singleton, replying to Mr. Hickman, emphatically denied the latter's charge that the South had violated all compacts and compro-Where and when, he asked, had the South demanded anything more than she was entitled to under the Constitution? Whenever aggressions were made, they were by the strong-er on the weaker section, and the South was not be enslaved, though this was attempted to be done in Massachussetts in the early days of to preserve fraternal relations.

to preserve fraternal relations.

He said that any wan who had signed a recommendation of Helper's book for circulation, with a knowledge of its contents, was guilty of moral treason, and ought to be deale with accordingly; and any man who signed it with a knowledge of the contents of the book, was unfit to be Speaker of the House.

Mr. Curtis, during the debate, in reply to a

estion, said that the Republicans a gressional action endeavor to prevent its extension. But they did not propose to circumvent Slavery in the South by any system of policy It was not his purpose directly or indirectly to njure the people at the South holding slaves. Mr. Singleton, replying, said that it was in-tended to lull the suspicion of the South, so as to make further aggression upon it; which was to be bound hand and foot, and delivered over to the tormentor. He understood Mr. Curtis's remark to be this: that the South is never to

have another foot of slave territory.

To which Mr. Curtis replied, that is the idea. Mr. Singleton said, if you thus act, you will disrupt every tie which binds us together. We will have expansion for Slavery in the Union or, if we must, outside of it. If you want to know my advice to Mississippi, it is, the sooner we get out of the Union the better. He review ed the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, saying that if Douglas should be nominated by th

Charleston Convention, he would not vote him—never!
Mr. Logan replied, that he was from Illinois which claimed to be Democratic; and, as a friend of Douglas's, he would vote for the nomi nee of that Convention, whoever he might be with a view of putting down the Republican

party. [Applause.]
Mr. Singleton said that the South could expand to Mexico; that country was now in a state of disruption, without a Government, and the South had a right to administer the estate. Whenever it shall be undertaken to place a Black Republican like Seward or Hale to preside over the destinies of the South, then you may expect to see an undivided front in the South, and all parties uniting to resist aggression. The only way to preserve the Union is, to reopen the Territories to the South; to execute the fugitive slave law; permit slave States come into the Union. (when formed) and give the South assurances of protection in all its constitutional rights. In conclusion, he argued that a State has the right to peaceably go

ut of the Union, and that it was for her adge of the mode and manner of redress. The House was then called, preliminary to a rote for Speaker.

Three ballots were had for the election of a speaker. peaker. After the first, Mr. Bocock withdrew his name as a candidate. He said he had permitted the use of his name as a point round which the conservative and sounder portion of the House might rally, but that hope had become more and more dim, and was now concletely gone. He thanked his friends for the

onor conferred by voting for him.

The last vote stood as follows: Sherman, 110 Boteler, 31; Bocock, 12; Barksdale, 20; scattering. Necessary to a choice, 114.

The House then adjourned.

THE BRUTALITY OF A "DEMOCRATIC" JUDGE.

The Philadelphia correspondent of the Was ington States and Union, a "dyed-in-the-wool" supporter of the black Democracy, is responsible for the following statement :

"Some legal doctrines were laid down by Judge Cadwalader, in the United States Dis-trict Court, the other day, which are attracting believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country guaranties notice and comment on account of their singularity and their conflict with the prevalent opin liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation imlarity and their conflict with the prevalent opinion that, in the trial of all criminal cases, the juries trying the prisoners are to be governed, in the rendition of their verdict, by the facts of the case. A man named John Cosgrove, second mate of the ship Thomas Jefferson, was on trial on certain bills of indictment found for malicious and cruel treatment to seamen on board the Jefferson. While the case was on trial, Judge Cadwalader remarked, that the case was demanded by the place to night at the Assembly buildings. Durately in the rendition of the court, where the fine would have been awarded as damages, and not by means of this farce of an indictment. The District Attorney, Mr. Van Dyke, promptly objected to the court saying that an indictment of officers of a ship—an indictment which had been passed upon by a grand jury, as well as himself—was a farce. He had nothing to do with the admiralty side of the court. Judge Cadwalader then remarked, that he did not think the District Attorney considered it his duty to press the case, to which Mr. Van Dyke, replied, that he did consider it his duty to press the case, and he did press it, in the face of all the difficulties and objections urged by the court.

"The case was fully and ably urged by the "Assembly building, and protect their goods." Its offensive for such purposes.

"The case was fully and ably urged by the "Assembly building, the face of all the difficulties and objections urged by the "Assembly building, the face of all the difficulties and objections urged by the "Assembly building, the face of all the difficulties and objections urged by the "Assembly building, the face of all the difficulties and objections urged by the "Assembly building, the face of all the difficulties and objections urged by the "Assembly building, the face of all the difficulties and objections urged by the "Assembly building, the face of all the difficulties and objections urged by the "Assembly building, the face of all the difficulties and objections urged by the "Assemb ion that, in the trial of all crimi

by the who objects to the action of the lessee in letting it for such purposes.

G. W. Curtis is to lecture to-night on the "Aspect of the Slavery Question," at National Hall, and advertisements appear in the papers court.
"The case was fully and ably urged by the District Attorney at the conclusion of the evi-

Mr. Bonham, of South Carolina, spoke for stating that his object was to show that an at- dence, but when the counsel for the defendant for a meeting outside, to adopt such measures stating that his object was to show that an attempt is now made, contrary to opinions formerly entertained by Legislatures of Southern States, to break through the principles of the compromise of 1850, and break through the covenant of the Kansas bill, and on that text to preach sermons on the soundness or unsoundness of the Democracy of the Northern States.

He proceeded to allude to a speech of Mr. Gwin, delivered in Grass Valley, California, in which it was stated that Mr. Douglas was deposed from the chairmanship of the Committee notwithstanding the charge of the court, had not agreed upon a verdict. They then came Philadelphia, Dec. 15-9.30 P. M.-Mr into court for instructions, and the foreman in-quired, among other things, whether, in view of the intimation of the court that the verdict, if one of conviction, would be set aside, they

Curtis lectured to-night to an audience of some few persons, on the aspect of the Slavery question, while about ten thousand persons attended the outside meeting, the gathering being addressed by Gen. John C. Miles, Richard Peters, and others. Soon after Mr. Curtis commenced speaking, several of the mob threw stones at the building, breaking the window glasses.

A body of five hundred police was stationed in the vicinity, and immediately made a rush on the rioters, and arrested several. This sum-

mary proceeding had a tendency to calm the excitement, which at first threatened serious onsequences.

Mayor Henry and the sheriff were on the

spot, directing the police. During the delivery of the lecture, they were several times hissed by the inside audience. The hissers were immediately ejected by the police.

The excitement is now subsiding, and it is hoped the trouble is ended.

months ago, in course of a similar trial, he incidentally characterized the flogging of the plaintiff, a seaman, as 'a good joke.' Now he designates the indictment of an officer of a vessel on a charge of 'malicious and cruel treatment' as a farce, and tells the jury—who in ordinary cases are expected to render a verdict according to the facts of the case—that if they convict the deforders he will get their THREE DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE. Sackville, Dec. 16 .- A dispatch from Halifax

announced the arrival of the steamer America there, from Liverpool, with advices of the 3d inst. The following brief dispatch is all that has been received. The detail will not arrive The REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

This Convention of Delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the policy of the present Administration; to the extension of Slavery into free Territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington until very late. The news is unimportant. The approaching Congress, and the persons likely to represent England in that body, was a

theme of speculation in the English papers. The *Times* strongly urges Lord Palmerston to represent England at the meeting of the Congress, on the 5th of January.

It was rumored on the 1st that the French fleet had destroyed the forts at the mouth of the river Tetuan, for firing at a French vessel, and

that afterwards they resumed a position of neutrality. ciples promulgated in the Declaration of In-dependence, and embodied in the Federal Con-Liverpool, Dec. 3.—Cotton has slightly declined. Sales for the week 51,000 bales, including 3,500 bales taken on speculation, and 9,500 bales for export. The decline is about eral Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, shall be preserved.

d. partially.

Havre Market.—Cotton—New Orleans tree ordinaire, 112f.; bas, 107f. All qualities have slightly declined—the market closing dull. Liverpool Breadstuffs Market.—The market has a declining tendency. Corn is firm. Provisions-The market closed dull.

London, Dec. 2 .- Money Market .- The money market is generally unchanged, with a good demand. Consols 964 @ 97½. Bullion in the Bank of England has increased £33,000.

The Latest.—Liverpool, Saturday Afternoon.
Cotton closes quiet. Breadstuffs are quiet— Provisions close quiet London, Saturday.—Consols closed at 96\$

FOUR DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE. Invitations to the European Congress Issued.

Portland, Dec. 15.-The steamer Nova Sco tian, from Liverpool, with dates to the 30th ult. New York, Dec. 15.—The steamer Bremen. om Southampton, with advices to the 30th

ult., arrived here about 9 o'clock.

The steamer America arrived out on the 7th, and the steamer Bavaria on the 28th.
The London Morning Post says that Austria still holds out against the terms proposed by France, and supported by England, for going

nto the Congress.

The text of the treaties recently signed at Zurich have been published, but contain nothing not already known.

The effective force of the Prussian army has

again been reduced.

Italy.—The difficulties made by Tuscany in the matter of the delegation of the Regency of est constitutional rights of the people of Kan-sas have been fraudulently and violently taken Central Italy to Buoncompagni have not been from them;
Their Territory has been invaded by an The Assemblies of Central Italy are to be convoked, and the return of Garibaldi is de-

> Morocco.-Accounts from Morocco state the 4,000 Moors attacked for the third time the redoubt before Sevilla, but were completely de feated by the Spaniards. France.—The battery erecting at Harfleur, to command the mouth of the Seine, has been

and enforced;
The rights of the people to keep and bear completed. arms have been infringed;
Test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed, as a condition Spain.—The Bank of Barcelona has offered f exercising the right of suffrage and holding

in which the latter lost heavily.

Paris, Wednesday.—The explanation of the

fort on the coast of Merocco having fired at a French steamer, the latter roplied, and having dismantled the fortification, rejoined the squadron at Algesiras. It is stated that the commander had informed the Morocco Government of what had occurred. This does not change the relations between the two countries.

A great storm had occurred in the Euxine, been made of no effect;
Murders, robberies, and arsons, have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;
That all these things have been done with

the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present Administration, and that for this In a recent interview with Prince Metternich, Count Walewski, it is said, assured the Prince that the influence of French diplomacy high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and Humanity, we arraign that Administration, would continue to be exercised in Central Ital the facts, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring n favor of the spontaneous recall by the people

of the Grand Dukes.

The reported death of Nena Sahib was, at the last accounts, believed to be unfounded. At the latest dates he was levying troops, and threatening to annihilate Lucknow. He then a force of six thousand men. The Piedmontese Government had received

no communication intimating the opposition of Austria to the Congress on account of the nomination of Buoncompagni.

The British Parliament had been prorogued to the 24th of January. FOUR DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

New York, Dec. 18 .- The steamer Vanderbilt, from Southampton, with Liverpool dates to the 7th inst., arrived here this morning. Ocean, by the most central and practical route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Gov-The steamer Hungarian arrived out on t ame day the Vanderbilt sailed. The Vanderbilt arrived off the Highlands or Saturday afternoon, but was detained by the

fog and low tides.

The European Congress meets at Paris on the 5th of January. Lord Cowley represents s. Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accom-England.
The Moorish loss on the 30th was 500 mer killed, and 1,500 wounded.
United States Minister Ward had returned of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

9. Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and, believing that the spirit of our institutions as well

from Japan.

The Japanese Embassy to the United States were to start on the 22d of February in the steamer Powhatan, for Washington.

Mr. Lever had offered to purchase the steamr Great Eastern.
The sum of £100,000 in gold has been re

overed from the wreck of the Royal Charter.

Crowds of Jesuits were seeking refuge in Sardinia on account of the suppression of their

order in Romagna.

A fire at Hong Kong, on the 20th October,

run into at the mouth of the Mersey by a steam- THE EXILES OF FLORID er—damage unknown.

Moody, the mate of the American ship Mary.

had been condemned to penal sentence for life, for the murder of a sailor.

The Markets.—Liverpool, Dec. 8.—Sales of cotton to-day estimated at 6,000 bales. Sales last two days 14,000 bales, including 3,000 bales. bales for speculation and export. The market closes with a declining tendency, notwithstanding the improved demand. Some circulars say prices are \(\frac{1}{2} \) lower. Breadstuffs close quiet, and prices steady. Provisions close dull.

Consols closed at 97\(\frac{1}{2} \) @ 97\(\frac{1}{4} \).

CAUCUS OF "DEMOCRATIC" MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

The Assessic Monthly, in a lengthy notice, cays:

"A cruel story this, Mr. Giddings tells us. Too crubul too true. Every American citizen should read it, it is an indictment which recites crimes which have be committed in his name, perpetrated by troops and officin his service, and all clone at his expense. The who nation is responsible at the bar of the world and befulte tribunal of posterity for these attocities, deviced members of its Cabinat and its Congress, directed by Presidents, and executed by its armies and its courts." Washington, Dec. 16 .- The Democrats held caucus on Friday night at the Capitol, Mr. Iouston in the chair, and Messrs. Cox and Vright, of Tenn., acting as secretaries. Fiftyight members were present. On motion of Mr. Ruffin, speeches were limted to five minutes.

Mr. Bocock expressed his thanks to the

Democratic members for their confidence in him, and his willingness to withdraw if the caucus thought another man could get a larger

Mr. Winslow spoke in favor of adhering to the nomination of Mr. Bocock. He preferred an Anti-Lecompton man to an American. Mr. Stevenson spoke against the plurality

Democrats maintaining their present position.

Mr. Cox spoke to the same effect for the largest Democratic delegation from the North. He was unwilling to vote for any Know-1, othing, or any man supporting them, unless that man be a Democrat. But he was willing, at the proper time, to vote for an Anti-Lecompton Democrat, when it could be shown that he could be elected.

Mr. Montgomery took a different view, think-

ing there might be union between national men, Americans and Democrats, so effected as to crush out sectionalism. He thought it dan-gerous that Republicanism should have the patronage of the Capitol.

Mr. Harris, of Virginia, made an earnest appeal to stand by Democratic principles and men. He would not ask Northern Democrats

to make such a sacrifice as to vote for a Southern American. Mr. Garnett interrupted Mr. Harris by sta

ting that a member of the American party had informed him he was as willing to vote for Mr. Bocock as any other Democrat. Mr. Craig, of Mo., after some remarks, moved that a committee of three be appointed to con-fer with the minority of the House on the subject of organization.

Mr. Burnett urged his views of the matter.

and opposed the motion. He inquired who asked to confer with us, that we should have such a committee? He moved an adherence Mr. Bocock.
Mr. Hindman said he never would be trans ferred by a caucus to any one but a Democrat.

Mr. Garnett explained why he had voted for

Mr. Boteler. He thought he had voted for Mr. Bocock as long as there was a chance for Mr. Clemens offered the following resolution: Resolved. That it is our duty to adhere to the mination heretofore made in caucus, until such time as it is demonstrable that some other person can secure the whole vote recorded, and an additional vote sufficient to elect him; and that then, and in that event, the committee heretofore appointed are hereby authorized to

NO. CAYL! CONTENTS. [JANUAR\]
HOLIDAYS IN COSTA RICA. II. SAN JOSE. By
Themas Francis M. agler.
Illu trations — The Easter Procession. San Jose. The
Bootmaker's. The Cock Figat. Street View in san Jose.
The C thedral. Mater Doi ross. Hanging Judas. Palace of the Governm.nt. Montiour Belly at the Ball. The
Artillery Barracks. The Labyrinth. Before the President's House. Launies. Artiller Harracas and Ladyrina. Before the President's House Lannibuse.

A LAY OF THE DANUSE.

RURAL PICTUNES MEANIBUSE.

RURAL PICTUNES MEANIBUSE.

RURAL PICTUNES MEANIBUSE.

Rowing the Bowing the Picture of President President Bowing the Picture. The Pet. Bed Time. Morning. The Flock Bass. Twil Lambs. The Overseer. The Hern-house. The Grande'lld. The Prisoner. Mischief. The Condigu.

The Preside the Pudding. call another meeting for the purpose of conferring together on the subject.

Mr. Pryor, after some preliminary remarks,
moved a substitute for Mr. Craig's resolution,

as follows:

Resolved, That the members of this cor Grande ild. The Prisoner. Mischief. The Condign. The Proof of the Pudding.

A PIPE OF TOBACCO.

Illustrations.—The First Pipe. The Hispaniolan Clearo. Brazilians Smoking. Ancient Mexican Pipe. Raleigh's Tobacco Bix. Tobacco Hinkers. Early Tobacco Disco. Symposium. Sir Waiter Raleigh. Lady Smoking. Tobacconist's Interior. Tobacconist's Labet. A South-Taker. Table South Box. An Early Chewer. Buras South-Box. Box from Shakspeare's Malberry. Scotch Mull. ference persist in the support of the Democratic nominee for Speaker until his declination at a conference of the party shall determine other ise. Mr. Vallandigham concurred in what Mr

Cochrane and Mr. Cox had said as to the sentiments of the North and West on the subject of Mr. Prvor's proposition was generally acceptable, but, without a vote, after Mr. Craig and others had made speeches in approval of it, the

MARKETS

Carefully prepared to Monday, Dec. 19, 1859 BALTIMORE MARKET.

Flour and Meal .- The market for flour tinues quiet; sales to day comprise 700 bbls.
Howard Street super at \$5.25 per bbl. Choice brands Howard Street super are held at \$5.37\frac{1}{2}, but no buyers at this figure; City Mills standbut no buyers at this figure; City Mills standmillion reals, without interest, for all the time
the war with Morocco may last.

Portland, Dec. 16.—The latest accounts per
steamer Nova Scotian, which arrived here last

86, and City Mills do. at 6 @ 6.25 per bbl. for night, state that a sharp engagement between the Spanish and Moors occurred on the 25th, \$4.37\frac{1}{2}\$ per bbl. for fresh ground No. 1. W quote City Mills corn meal at \$3.621 per bbl Paris, Wednesday.—The explanation of the current reports of a French squadron having bombarded Tangiers, is, simply, that a small fort on the coast of Merocco having fired at a prime, and at 1.41 @ \$1.43 per bushel for choice; red brought 1.20 @ \$1.27 per bushel

A great storm had occurred in the grand and eighty vessels were lost.

The Paris correspondent of the Times says, it was still uncertain whether England intends to join the European Cengress.

The Paris correspondent of the Times says, it was still uncertain whether England intends to join the European Cengress.

Live Hegs.—The market is firm to-day, and we note sales to packers of 450 head at 6.75 @ we note sales to packers of 450 head at 6.75 @ correspondent to butchers they bring 7 @ sylvania at 43 @ 45c. per bushel. Of rye the offerings were light to-day; we note sales of

\$7 per 100 pounds; to butchers they bring 7 @ \$7.121

Provisions.—The market is dull, and the

tendency is to lower rates. Pork—No sales reported; we quote new Western mess at \$16.75, old do. at 16 @ \$16.25, prime \$11.50, reported; we quote new Western mess at \$16.75, old do. at 16 (2) \$16.25, prime \$11.50, and rump \$11 per bbl. Bulk meat—We note sales of 50,000 lbs. sides, for a neighboring market, on private terms; and 60,000 lbs. do. at 8½ cts.; also, 1,500 pcs. hams at 9 cts. per lb. Bacon—Small sales of shoulders at 8½ cts.; we quote sides at 9½ (2) 10 cts. per lb.—a decline of ½c. Lard—We hear of no sales; we quote new Western in bbls. and tres. at 10½ (2) 10½ cts., new and old do., in kegs, at 11½ (2) 12 cts.; and butchers at 10½ (3) 10½ cts. per lb.—Business at the daring the past year we have published novelets, stoles, poems, essays, &s., from the pens of the following grieds writers:

THE EARL'S DAUGHTERS.

By the Author of "The Red Court Farm." The Rock," the "likester Halliwell" Sories, "The Big Gray Powers in the court form providers, "The Big Gray Powers," in the Disamond Bracelet, "&c., &c., at the Disamond Bracelet," &c., &c., at the Disamond Bracelet, "&c., &c., at the Disamond Bracelet," &c., &c., at the Disamond Bracelet, "&c., &c., at the Disamond Bracelet," &c., &c., at the Disamond Bracelet, "&c., &c., at the Disamond Bracelet," &c., &c., at the Disamond Bracelet, "&c., &c., at the Disamond Bracelet, "&c., &c., at the Disamond Bracelet," &c., &c., at the Disamond Bracelet, "&c., &c., at the Disamond Bracelet, "Ac, &c., at the Disamond Bracelet, "The Big Gray Powers, "In this story, writers before, "In this story, "In this story, cts.; and butchers' at 101 @ 101 cts. per lb.

Seeds.—There is some demand, and clover is G. P. R. James.
Charles Dickens.
Alfred Tempson.
Charles Reade.
H. W. Longfellow. firmer; we note sales at 5.30 @ \$5.62\frac{1}{2} per bushel. We continue to quote timothy at 2 @

\$2.50, and flax-seed at 1.35 @ \$1.40 per bush NEW YORK MARKET. Flour is heavy; sales of 7,000 barrels State at 4.95 @ \$5.05, Ohio at 5.60 @ \$5.70, and Southern at 5.55 @ \$5.75. Wheat is quiet: sales of 6,000 bushels; white is quoted at 1.40 (a) \$1.55. Corn is depressed; sales of 14,000 bushels, new white 90 (a) 93 cts., do. yellow at 93 (a) 95 cts., and old 96 cts. Beef is quiet at 9.50 (a) \$10 for repacked Western. Pork dull; mess at \$16, and prime \$11.37\frac{1}{2}\$ Lard heavy at 101 @ 11 cts.

The Post does not confine itself, however, to works of the imagination, as so many Weskline now do. It gen-orally devotes a fair portion of its space to the News of the week, Poreign and D. mestic, to Letters from Paris, to an Agneuliaral Department, to Bank Nois and Stock Lists, and to a Weekly and Accurate Price Carrent of MOORE'S RURAL NEW-YORKER. TERMS—ENGRAVINGS.

Hamilton's two views of Ningara Falls—a couple of handsome and large sized Social Engravings—the retail price of which is Five Itolians—we are emabled to Club with the Post on the following remarkebly liberal terms. We also Club with those well-known Monthly Magazines, Arthur's Home Magazines and Godey's Ludy's Book. Reas the following, and take your choice of Tarms.

One Copy of the Post,
One Copy of the Post and both Engravings of Ningara Falls.
One Copy of the Post and both Engravings of Ningara Falls.
One Copy of the Post and one of Arthur's Home Magazine.
One Copy of the Post and one of Arthur's Home Magazine.
One Copy of the Post and one of Arthur's Lady's Book.
CLUBS.
2 Copies of the Post,
(and one of the Engravings to geter up of Club.)
(and one copy extra, or both Engravings to geter up of Club.)
(and one copy extra, or both Engravings to geter up of Club.)
(and one copy extra, or both Engravings to geter up of Club.)
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(and one copy extra, or both Engravings to geter ap of Club.)
(and one copy extra, or both Engravings to geter ap of Club.)

Ministers and School Teachers are charged only \$1 a year.
The Riodic and Problem Department renders the Post particularly acceptable to the latter class. Is the Best, Cheapest, and Largest Circulated Agricultural, Horticultural, Lilerary and Family Newspaper in America.

Volume XI, for 1860, will be superior in both contents and style Now is the time to subscribe and form Clubs. and extraordinary indecements to Cub agents. Specimens, bills, inducements to Cub agents. Specimens, bills, inducements, &c., sent free to all, who and extraordinary inducements.

D. D. T. MOORE, Rochester, New York THE BOOK FOR THE TIMES.

THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN The Liberator of Kansas and the Hero of Harper's Ferry. BY JAMES REDPATH. ant 12mo volume of 460 pages, illustrated a

STREL PORTRAIT rious old man. Price One Bollar. This boo used before the 1st of January, 1960, and will be thrilling and fascinating interest. Its sale will be. A liberal per centage of the PROFITS

VILL BE GIVEN TO THE PAMILY OF BROWN Thousands of Agents will be wanted to supply the de and in every town, village, and hamlet, throughout th THAYER & ELDRIDGE,

earling from its publication

A large and beautiful Esgraving on seel, inches, called "The Speaking Likeness," will be very subscriber to "The Post" for 1869, who is addition to his subscription, the sum of two conts, to pay the appense of pecuacy, melling, the retail price of this superprise of the conts. P. S.—The Postage will be pre-paid on all the Engra-

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No. 135 South Third street, Philadelphia.

[D Sample Cepies of the Post sent gratis taken requests innertion, or condense the material portions of its fer be oditorial columns, shall be entitled to an exchange and copy of "The Speaking Likeness," by set drog us marked copy of the paper containing the advertisement.

[Continued from first page.] [Continued from first page.]
programme? What have they announced to us
as the "irrepressible conflict?" Does the Senator suppose that when the distinguished leader
of that party announced to the world that the
wheat-fields and the rye-fields of Massachusette
and New York must ultimately be tilled by slave
labor, that he meant any such thing—that he
supposed for a moment that that was to be the
result of this "irrepressible conflict?" No. sirresult of this "irrepressible conflict?" No, sir; but the other branch of the alternative—that the sugar plantations of Louisiana and the cotton and rice plantations of South Carolina shall be tilled by free labor, and by free labor only. That

is a declaration of war.

It is a declaration against the rights of the people, secured by the compact and the Constitution of the country, and we are forewarned. Notwithstanding this may be a constitutional election, that a majority, according to the pre-scribed forms of the Constitution, have a right to elect, and the election is valid, yet, rather than submit to a fate forewarned, they who think so give timely notice that they do not intend to submit to it. It is a degradation by a proclama-tion in advance, to be met by a counter-procla-mation, without touching the inferiority of the Northern States at all. Sir, it is not the men, it Northern States at all. Sir, it is not the men, it is not the party, it is not the States, but it is the principle, that "we subjugate you; give us the reins of power, and we will place you at our feet; we will take from you what you have, quietly if you will yield, forcibly if you do not; and we will hold you under the power of this Federal Government, subject to the demination of a party whose principles are in violation," according to our judgment, "of every principle of the Constitution." That, I presume, is the meaning of those who profess that sentiment.

Mr. TRUMBULL. Mr. President, it is just such speeches as this we have listened to from

such speeches as this we have listened to from the Senator from South Carolina, based upon a misunderstanding of the Republican party of the North, that has misled the South. The North intends no encroachment upon the South. The Republican party is a party, in its principles, public and avowed to the world, and it is because of the misrepresentation of the objects and views of that party that the prejudices of the South have been excited against it, and chiefly by the mis-representations which have been made by this so-called Democratic party in the North. They choose to call every person that does not unite with them an Abalitionist.

with them an Abolitionist.

I was born and bred up in the Democratic faith, acted with the Democratic party, sustained its measures and its men upon principle when that party was divided from the Whig party upon questions of finance, in regard to the com-mercial interests of the country, and other great questions. But, in 1854, what was done? I was one of those who acquiesced in the measures of 1850, and agreed to abide by the settlement then made. I heard with delight the declaration of Franklin Pierce, when inaugurated President, and in his message, that the settlement of 1850 should suffer no shock which he could prevent should suffer no shock which he could prevent during his Administration. I was glad when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was introduced, accompanied by the report of a committee in this body, declaring that to repeal the Missouri compromise would be a departure from the measures of 1850. It was said that the compromise measures of 1850 had given peace to the country; that the Slavery question was forever afterwards to be banished from the Halls of Congress, and that no man was to be tolerated who should under any pretence whatever, in Congress or out under any pretence whatever, in Congress or out of Congress, attempt to stir up again this exci-

ting question.

I, in good faith, supposed that these declarations meant something; and therefore when, in 1854, notwithstanding these assurances to the country, the proposition was sprung upon it to repeal the Missouri compromise, and open Kan-sas to Slavery, and when the measure was made the test and the only test of party faith, I did refuse to co-operate with the party which made that the only test of its political faith. Then it was that the old Democratic party and the Whig party were broken up. They were both disbanded, and a new question was thrust upon the country, which had not before been in issue beween parties. When it was thrust upon us, and parties and persons took issue upon the question of the repeal of the Missonri compromise and the opening of Kansas to Slavery, I united with that opening of Kansas to Slavery, I united with that party which took ground against the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and in favor of standing by what all parties had agreed to but four years previous—ay, sir, but two years previous, when they nominated their respective candidates for the Presidency. To style the party that now calls itself Democratic, the successor of the old Democratic party, is a misnomer. It is no more the successor of that party than the Republican party. The country seems to have forgotten, and gentlemen who use this word "Democratic," as if it had some meaning, at this day, seem to have forgotten that a majority of the members of the House of Representatives from the Northern States of the Democratic party voted against that these new parties were formed, composed of persons who had before belonged indiscriminately either to

the Whig or the Democratic party.

When the Senator from South Carolina attributes to the Republican party of the North the views which he does, he entirely misapprehends the views of that party. They have been reit-erated a hundred times. I wish I had a voice that I could reiterate them so that every man in the South should hear. I would say man from the Gulf to the Potomac, the Republican party plants itself on this Slavery question precisely on the ground upon which your own Washington and Jefferson stood. We avow in our platform of principles that we will abide by the Constitution. We have no intention of interfering with your domestic Institutions; and when the Senator from South Carolina talks about the North interfering with the institutions of the South, I ask when, where? Never, sir. Oh! but you exclude us from the common territory," Is that an interference with your insti-tutions? Was it an interference in 1787? Was it an interference in 1789, when your own great men passed the act to exclude Slavery from the Territories? You did not so regard it. Did those men put a dishonor upon themselves? We believe that these Territories are the common property of the United States, as much as you : as much right to go there as a man who has slaves; that one has just as much right to settle in the Territories of the United States as another; but we tell you that no man can take the instigoes. When he goes beyond the jurisdiction of his State, and enters some other jurisdiction, the local laws which governed him in the State

whence he emigrated cease to operate.

The Constitution of the United States has expressly conferred upon Congress authority to govern these Territories, and the authority has always been exercised. It is altogether a mistaken notion that any inequality is put upon course, you could not give up a person who was held as a slave in one of the Territories, because Southern men by refusing to extend Slavery in-to the Territories. Why, sir, in the Southern States, a majority of your white population are not slaveholders. Not one in ten, only about one in twenty of your population own slaves, and if you will divide them into families, I sup-pose that not one family in five in all the South-ern States owns a slave. We believe that it is for the interests of this great country, for the for the interests of this great country, for the interests of the people who are to settle our Territories, that they should be settled by free white people. What interest have four families out of five in the Southern States in introducing Slavery into Kansas, or into any free territory? Will you tell me that it is putting a degradation on them, unless they are permitted to introduce on them, unless they are permitted to introduce slaves into the Territories? They have none to introduce. They do not want Slavery. Nine out of ten of your white population in Carolina own no slaves, and at least four out of five of the families of that State, I presume, have no slaves. Is it a degradation then upon them? Who is it upon? Why, if on any one, it is on who is it upon? Why, if on any one, it is on your one-twentieth person; and legislation to protect his interests, at the expense of nineteen-twentieths, is to be brought about in the name of Democracy. I said a degradation upon the one-twentieth person. It is no degradation upon him. It is no degradation upon any man. You of the South, as citizens of this common your people own no slaves, and, as a matter of course, would prefer, when they emigrate, to come into a non-slaveholding country. The State in which I reside has in it hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands of people from the slaveholding States. They want no Slavery, the slaveholding States. They want no Shares,, and I suppose if the question were to be submitted to the citizens of Illinois to-morrow, whether Slavery should be introduced, although there Slavery should be introduced, althou are thousands of voters from Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia and South Carolina, it would not get one vote in ten thousand in the State.

Mr. YULEE. Will the Senator allow me interrupt him a moment?

Mr. TRUMBULL. Yes, sir.

Mr. YULKE. The Senator undertook just now to enlighten us in respect to the attitude of the party of which he is a member upon this slave question. I am very solicitous to know precisely where the Senator's party stands upon that question, and what is the purpose of the organization, for I understand the organization.

Mr. TRUMBULL. If the Senator from Florida Mr. TRUMBULL. If the Senator from Florida-cannot understand the principles of the Republi-can party, which have been proclaimed and published to the world, he is certainly not a very apt scholar, and I shall almost despair of enlight-ening him. Our principles are emblazoned be-fore the country and published in the platforms of the party. Did he never read them, or has he gone on, without reading our principles, and minunderstanding them? nisunderstanding them?
Mr. YULEE. I have certainly read them;

but, unfortunately, never understood them.

Mr. TRUMBULL. Then, if I can be the means of enlightening my friend from Florida as to any particular part of our platform that he cannot understand, it will afford me great pleasure to do so.
Mr. WADE. I think it will take until morning

to do this, and I therefore move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate

DECEMBER 8, 1859.

DECEMBER 8, 1859.

Mr. TRUMBULL said:

Mr. President, just before the adjournment of this body yesterday, I was called upon by the Senator from Florida [Mr. Yuzez] to state what were the principles of the Republican party.

Sir, I did suppose that the Senator from Florida, and every Senator, could understand, if he desired to do so, what our principles were. They have been proclaimed by an authoritative Convention of the party, in language as plain as it is in the power of man to employ; and it is only by mystification, by misrepresentations of them in many portions of the country, as I think, that the public mind of the South has been excited against the Republican party. I have brought

and, so far as it relates to the Slavery question, I will read it; it is brief, and I should like to know to what portion of it the Senator from Florida, or any other Senator or individual, North or South, objects. Here it is:

"Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promu-gated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied the Federal Constitution, are essential to the preservation our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Consti-tion, the rights of the States, and the Union of the State-ment and shall be preserved?" Does the Senator from Florida understand

that—that the Constitution of the United States, the rights of the States, and the principles em-bodied in the Constitution, must and shall be preserved? Mr. YULEE. I want to know how you con strue the Constitution?

Mr. TRUMBULL. We will tell you. We say ourselves how we construe it on the Slavery

question:

"Resolved, That, with our republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government is, to grant these rights to all persons under its exclusive jurisdiction. That as our republican fathers, when they had aboished Slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person shall be deprived of life liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution (against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing Slavery in the Territories of the United States) by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

"Resolved. That the Constitution confers upon Congress."

antained. That the Constitution confers upon Congress vereign power over the Territories of the United States, for eir government; and that, in the exercise of this power, it both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to probit in the Territories those twin relies of barbarism, Polyg-

That is the whole platform of the Republican arty on the subject of Slavery.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Will the Senator from Ilinois allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. TRUMBULL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SAULSBURY. If it be true, as that last

resolution states, that the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Terri-tories of the United States, for their government, why is it that that power, which the resolution declares to be sovereign in Congress-by which I presume, is meant a supreme power, a power which has no superior—is not capable of being exercised for the establishment of Slavery in Territory, as well as for the prehibition of Sla

the United States cannot pass a law abridging the freedom of speech in any one of the Territories. They are expressly prohibited from so

Territories, to legislate for them in all matters within the Constitution of the United States; and the Constitution of the United States does not authorize Congress to establish Slavery. The Constitution is based upon this principle. It does not establish Slavery at all, but merely tolerates it where it already exists by virtue of State laws. That is the meaning of the Consti-tution of the United States. It is a Constitution Freedom, the word "slave" not occurring i t, and the men who framed the Constitution be ved that in the process of time there would be no slaves in any portion of the Confederacy, and one of its principal authors objected to the use of the word "slave," lest future generations might know that there was Slavery in some o If you will turn to that clause of the Constitu tion relating to the reclamation of fugitive slaves you will find that it reads, that "no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof," that is, under the laws of the State, "escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up." There is no provision for the delivering up of a man who is held to service by any other

than a State law. If held to service by virtue of the Constitution, that instrument contains no provision for his return when he escapes from one State to another. This shows that the fra-mers of the Constitution never contemplated that a person could be held to service, whether as a slave or as an apprentice, except by virtue of State laws, else the provision for reclamation would have been general, and not limited to persons so held. Would the Senator from Del-aware contend that, under this clause of the Constitution, he could reclaim a person held as a slave, by virtue of that instrument, who had escaped from one State into another? Suppose a person comes into the State of Delaware, who, it is contended, is a slave, and his alleged owner comes to reclaim him—would you give him up if he did not show that he was held as a slave under the laws of the State from which he escaped? If you would not, then, as a matter of

he could not be so held in a Territory by virtue of any State law.

Lest I be misunderstood, I will state that I Lest I be misunderstood, I will state that I do not meen to say that if there is Slavery in one of the Territories of the Union, as there was by the acquiescence of Congress in Tennessee and Kentucky and in the Southwestern States while they were Territories, a negro who is held as a slave there, and escapes into any of the States of the Union, may not be reclaimed. I hold to no such doctrine. I contend that the Congress of the United States have sovereign power over the Territories, to legislate for them within the Constitution, and had the right to provide, as it did in the enactment of the ordinance of 1787 for the Northwestern Territory, that fugitives who should escape to that Territory from slaveholding States should be surrendered up. It is by virtue of its sovereign power over up. It is by virtue of its sovereign power over the Territories, and not by virtue of the clause of the Constitution relating to the return of fugi-

which a slave in a State who escapes into a free Territory may be reclaimed and brought back to the State whence he fled.

Now, sir, what portion of this platform or creed does the Senator from Florida object to? I know what he will say. He objects to that the state which are luncked Slavary from the Territoria. nart which excludes Slavery from the Territories is there any other. Mr. YULEE. I desire to hear from the Sena

tor an illustration and exposition of his creed; whether he intends us to understand, or his whether he intends us to understand, or his party intend it to be understood, that by the Constitution of the United States property in slaves was abolished, and stands abolished in all national territory; and in all territory over which we have exclusive jurisdiction. Does he mean to say that the tenure in slave property in the District of Columbia, and in the forts and in the arsenals, as well as in the Territories of the United States, was abolished under the Constitution, and stands abolished now?

stitution, and stands abolished now?

If there be any meaning in this platform, it is a meaning which strikes at the root of property in slaves in all the new States of this Confederacy. The ground upon which you rest yourself is, that it is not only not in the power of Congress, but that it is not in the gress applicable to Territories.

Mr. CLAY. Then I will ask him to reconcile

tory. If that be so, all the slaves in Louisiana, all the slaves in Tennessee, in Missouri, in every other new State of this Confederacy, were free by virtue of the Constitution, and are illegally held.

When the Senator attempts to present to us here a principle by which his party is to be ruled, we have a right to ask him, and to know, by what practical measures of legislation his party propose to gire effect to the principle which they undertake to assert. Now, let us take the case of a Territory immediately occupied by emigrants from a Southern State, and by them alone, accompanied with their slave property, which the Supreme Court declares to be legally their property there—I wish to know by what practical measure of legislation the Senator proposes to give effect to his principle. Is it by a code to abolish the property of the slaveholder in his slaves there? Is that what he proposes to do? If the people of the Territory desire to use that form of labor, does he mean to deny them that right, and to deny it by an act of the Federal Legislature prohibiting the enjoyment of that right to the inhabitants of the Territory? Legislature prohibiting the enjoyment of that right to the inhabitants of the Territory? More than that; if, when they come to form

themselves into a sovereign community, and pre-sent themselves here, under the Federal Consti-tution, for admission as a State of this Union with a clause in their Constitution protecting slave property, I wish to know whether it is a particular to the constitution of the constitution o of the policy and purpose of the party of which the Senator is a member, giving effect to the principle here asserted as their rule of action, to

reject the application.

If the end and aim of the Senator's organization is limited to the Territorial question, and when that is done with, all is done with it on the

what to expect from them.

Next, so far as the Territorial question is concerned, I ask the Senator to give us the practical cerned, I ask the Senator to give us the practical measures by which they propose to give application to their principles, and to tell us upon what ground they assert that property in slaves is abolished by the Constitution, and yet justify a continued recognition of that right in the District of Columbia, the forts and arsenals, and those of the Territories of the United States in which it has been permitted, not only by the acquiescence but by the direct authority of law, to exist, for such was the case in Tennessee, and in other such was the case in Tennessee, and in other portions of the new States. Congress did, by express enactment, authorize the existence of Sla-very. I yield to the Senator. Mr. TRUMBULL. Mr. President, I am glad

impeach the motives of gentlemen on the other side; I suppose they really labor under some misapprehension in regard to our principles. I think, if we could understand each other, the good old times, when a man from the South and man from the North could meet together in a question, would return. I think misapprehension is the foundation of the great controversy upon

reat many persons who are not slaveholder erefore I do not know what right those who hold slaves have to arrogate to themselves that they are the South. They are a portion of the South, and a small portion only, about one-twentieth part, as shown by the census. The Senator asks if this platform of principles

is only intended to apply to the Territories. Most assuredly the Republican party had its origin in the question of Slavery in regard to the Territories. It was the departure from the policy of this Government, from the day of its foundation lown to 1854, which gave rise to the Republican party. It was an organization in reference to the question of Slavery in the Territories, and nowhere else. There is nothing in this platform in regard to the question of Slavery in the States of this Union; and, lest I forget it, permit me to men were entitled to life and liberty; and if he

other? Why say, "what I present as the plat-form?" Why not say, "the platform of the Re-publican party?" Why should we seek here, in the Senate of the United States, to mislead any-body? I am sorry we cannot speak of admitted facts, as they are. We are trying here, I trust, to arrive at an understanding with each other. to arrive at an understanding with each other. That is my object; and I wish to do away with all these clap-trap expressions and these ugly names that are used for the purpose of exciting prejudice. Why is it that members of the Sente of the United States, and that the Cabinet officers of the country, talk of the Republican party as the Black Republican party? Do they want to create a prejudice against it? The Senator did not use that word.

Mr. YULEE. No, I did not use it.
Mr. TRUMBULL. I happened to speak of it now—it has been used in this debate—because he Senator seemed to cast a suspicion upon the platform. Why, sir, there is but the one. Mr. YULEE. It may be. I would state here to the Senator, that I did not use the term Black

Republican.
Mr. TRUMBULL. I have said you did not.
Mr. YULEE. But I did not use the term Republican here, for the reason, as I said last night, that that term and that party denomination having been once consecrated by a national party of far other, and, as I humbly think, higher objects will not myself apply a qualification, but leave it to that party to discover, as I hope they will, ome qualification of the term Republican.

Mr. TRUMBULL. Mr. President, it is because

we advocate every principle advocated by the old Republican party that we adopt its name; and I say to the Senator to-day, show me a dethe principles of the Republican party of 1800, that we call ourselves Republicans; and, if I words of our platform which the gentleman ob ects to, were indited by his hand.

Mr. YULEE. "To create, not to destroy, free government?"

Mr. TRUMBULL. Yes, sir; and we will perpetuate free government by continuing the prin-ciples that he advocated. But, sir, what beyond that? How has it come, from a gentleman upon that side of the House, to tell us we must not call ourselves Republicans, when they assume to call themselves Democrats? Democrats! And the illustration of your principle, democracy, is the supremacy of an aristocracy of slave-holders in this country. Any man can be a member of the Democratic party who will adopt member of the Democratic party who will adopt your creed on the subject of the spread of Slavery, and the upholding of slaveholding institutions in this country, which concern directly not one man in sixty of the population of this Union. That is the party that has arrogated to itself the name of "Democrat," and that reproaches us for calling ourselves Republicans. Democrats! A party that legislates for the interest of one out of sixty—forgetting the interest of four-fifths of the families of the South to promote that of one-fifth.

mote that of one-fifth.

The Senator wishes to know if Slavery was abolished by the Constitution of the United States. I have already said, no; Slavery was States. I have already said, no; Slavery was not abolished by the Constitution of the United States. I stated before, and I will try to repeat it again, that the Constitution was based upon the idea of Freedom, but it did not abolish Slavery where it existed by State or local law. It did not interfere to do that. It allowed the States to manage that for themselves, and provided that, when one held to service should escent to another States when the States of t

ment, to ask him whether he recognises the right to reclaim fugitive slaves in the Territo-ries?

assumes; for in that platform, as he read it, it is declared that neither Congress nor any individual can give any legal assistance to Slavery within the Territories.

Mr. TRUMBULL. "Give legal existence to construct the property of the construction of the construct

do so. I will give him my understanding of it as calmly and impartially as I am able. I understand that part of the platform to be the asderstand that part of the platform to be the assertion of a great natural right, and that is what I understand by those words in the Declaration of Independence, wherein it is declared that "all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator," not by the Government, "with certain intiliciable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Now, I do not understand that our fathers supposed they could carry out these principles perfectly in government. Every Government, as I had occasion to say in this debate before is an encroachment, more or less, on the natural rights of man. What did they mean? Why, sir, the men who signed their names to that immortal Declaration of Independence were men who either themselves or their ancestors had fled from despotisms in the Old World. They had seen men claiming to rule by Divine right as kings; they had seen another Old World. They had seen men claiming to rule by Divine right as kings; they had seen another class of men claiming to rule and lord it over the mass of their fellow-beings by hereditary right, and they intended to put it upon record in this formation of the Government which they were making, that their posterity in all time might know that they recognised no Divine right of one man over another, no hereditary right of the Slavery question.

The Senator has thought proper to speak of the South. He speaks of the degradation, as he calls it, to the South, of excluding them from a Territory.

Mr. YULEE. That was the Senator's own word. I merely quoted his own language.

Mr. TRUMBULL. We mean no degradation to the South. I am sorry that the word "South" has been used with regard to this alleged right to extend Slavery to a Territory. I tried yesterday to explain that the South is made up of a great many persons who are not destructed. anarchy, or the encroachments of the strong upon the weak. I do not quote his beautiful language, but the idea. This is what I understand to be meant by this platform of principles

in that respect.

Mr. CLAY. Will the Senator pardon me for asking him a further question?
Mr. TRUMBULL. Undoubtedly.

Mr. CLAY. I do not mean to interrupt him; but as he seems disposed to be candid and communicative, I will trouble him with a further question. I would be glad if he can explain how he can reconcile with the personal integrity of the framers of the Declaration of Independence say that I speak not for the Republican party, except as its platform speaks. I claim no authority to be its exponent. Its exponent is its principles, as declared here in this document.

May Will Fe I desire to be the principle of the Declaration of Independence, or of the Federal Constitution, which declares that the

> agree with me, that any evil is wrong; that any encroachment upon the natural rights of any of us (and our Government restrains us more or less) is only to be justified upon the ground that it is necessary for organized society and for government, and that men could not live together, except in eternal quarrels, unless we had a government of some kind; but that does not militate against the truth that the great Author of all created us equal and with the same rights.
>
> Mr. CLAY. The Senator does not seem to apprehend the force of my question. Perhaps I did not put it fairly. According to the declaration in your platform, as read, I understand your party to maintain that the negro enjoys, in comnon with the white man, an inalienable right to liberty. You denounce the violation of that right as a crime, a sin in the eye of Heaven, and a crime against the laws of man; a violation of the doctrines of Christianity. You denounce it as a twin relic of barbarism with polygamy.
>
> Now, I ask you how you can reconcile it with the personal integrity of the framers either of the Declaration of Independence or of the Federal Constitution, that they sanctioned a crime
>
> TrumBULL. No, sir; we do not preach it in the South at all; and yet the men who do not allow our principles to be proclaimed in the eral Constitution, that they sanctioned a crime
>
> South, talk about sectionalism. A sectionalism eral Constitution, that they sanctioned a crime at the same time that they protested against it.
>
> Mr. TRUMBULL. Mr. President, I am satisfied that I am not understood by the Senator from Alabama. I say that the negro has the same natural rights that I have; and now I say it is not a crime, under all circumstances, to hold a negro in elavery.
>
> Mr. CLAY Why then does the Senator of the Senator from Florida know that it will not tolerate the exposition of the principles of its opponents at all where it is in power, talks to the there party about sectionalism. A sectionalism so pure and unadulterated that it will not tolerate the exposition of the principles of its opponents at all where it is in power, talks to the result of the senator from Florida know that it will not tolerate the exposition of the principles of its opponents at all where it is in power, talks to the I say that Slavery was not abolished in Tennessee and Louisiana by the Constitution. Why, are constitutions where the senator from Florida know that it will not tolerate the exposition of the principles of its opponents at all where it is in power, talks to the other party about sectionalism.

than the present party, no party, whatever its objects may be, has the right to appropriate that name. It has become the property of a preceding party, and therefore some qualification of the term Republican, by which the gentleman's party may be defined, ought to be adopted. I will not myself apply a qualification, but leave State punish it? Do not the laws of my will not myself apply a qualification, but leave

Mr. TRUMBULL.
in Illinois as a crime; and we would punish the
holding of a slave in Illinois as a crime.
Mr. CLAY. Will the Senator pardon me? I

obtain explanations.

Mr. CLAY. I wish the Senator to explain know myself, I will adhere to the principles of the old Republican party in regard to this question. The father of that party is our great model.

Our principles are taken from him. The very words of our platform which the continuous whether according to his code of ethics, or that of the party to which he belongs, it becomes any civilized, any Christian Government, to recognise crime; whether there be any circum. ognise crime; whether there be any circum-stances under which crime can be justified, excused, or palliated?

Mr. TRUMBULL. Mr. President, I will no

cavil about the word "crime." I do not call it a crime in citizens of the South to hold slaves Mr. CLAY. Is not polygamy a crime? Mr. TRUMBULL. Polygamy is a crime und some circumstances, but not always a crime. take it that polygamy is no crime in Turkey. Mr. CLAY. Thank you for that concession

in this Christian country.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I think it is no crime it Mr. TRUMBULL. I think it is no crime in Turkey. It is a crime in our Christian country. We regard it so, but other nations do not regard it as a crime. I do not regard the holding of slaves as they are held in the Southern States of this Union, and in many other countries, as necessarily criminal. That is not the term I apply to it. I think it is a wrong to those persons who are so held, but it is a wrong which had better be endured than to do worse. It is better to be endured than to undertake to right it by committing a greater wrong and a greater it belonged to the United States at all. Now, he wants to know whether Congress can confise.

Mr. CLAY. Will the Senator pardon me for interrupting him? Would not the taking of a human being's life without justifiable or excusable cause be a crime, independent of all statutory provision or legal enactment; and if so, by parity of reasoning, is not polygamy a crime? and if so, by the force of your own platform, which condemns Slavery equally with polygamy, is that not a crime, independent of all human existation?

assumes; for in that platform, as he read it, it is declared that neither Congress nor any individual can give any legal assistance to Slavery within the Territories.

Mr. TRUMBULL. "Give legal existence to Slavery within the Territories."

Mr. TRUMBULL. "Give legal existence to Slavery within the Territories."

Mr. TRUMBULL. "Give legal existence to Slavery within the Territory," is the language. We deeply that the right to reclaim a fugitive proves the existence of Slavery in a Territory, any more than it does in a State. We have expressly provided by our Constitution, in the State of Illinois, the Policy of the Senator from Alabama, that if a slave of his secapes to the State of Illinois, we recognise the same right in a Territory.

Mr. CLAY. If the Senator will pardon me for interrupting him, I will say that in the platform of that party from which I just now read, the word is "assistance," not "existence;" and I have never yet, in any platform of that party which has come under my view, seen the word "existence." It is an assistance." It is not platform, of the State of Illinois who be some under my view, seen the word "existence." It is a "assistance." It is not platform of the State of Illinois who be some under my view, seen the word "existence." It is a "assistance." It is no the people of the State of Illinois who be some under my view, seen the word "existence." It is a "assistance," It is a "assistance of the old Republican party; and as that old Republican party; the battory was organized, because of the old Republican party; and set that old Republican party; and set the recommendation of the party was organized, because of the old Republican party; and set the recommendation of the party was organized, because of the old Republican party; and set that old Mr. TRUMBULL. The taking of human life

answer; if not, when I get through, the Senator can repeat the question. He wanted to know if the slaves in Tennessee and Louisiana are freed by this platform. No, sir; the Senator certainly

I believe, sir, that I have answered—I have Mr. YULEE. I do.
Mr. TRUMBULL. He wanted to know if the

slaves are free in the District of Columbia by this platform. No, sir.

Mr. PUGH. May I ask the Senator whether he is speaking for himself or for the party?

Mr. TRUMBULL. I am speaking for myself; and as I understand-

Mr. PUGH. I thought you were interpreting the party.
Mr. TRUMBULL. I am giving my understand-Mr. TRUMBULL. I am giving my understand-ing of the Republican creed, and the way it is understood by the people of the Northwest, who are a conservative, Union-loving, Constitution-abiding people, loyal to the Constitution and to the Union, and are no ultraists in any sense of

Mr. PUGH. Will the Senator permit me to ask

Chase may or may not precisely agree with me in his interpretation of every clause. I do not in his interpretation of every clause. I do not believe it possible there can be as much difference between us as there is between the Senator ment, they should exclude it, as was done in the from Ohio with his nopular-sovereignty dogma cases of Indiana and Illinois, when Territories, I wish to ask the Senator from South Carolina, rom Ohio with his popular-sovereignty dogma and the great Democratic party. [Laughter.]
Mr. PUGH. That is just what I want to find

Mr. YULEE. But the Senator wondered yesterday evening that I was unable to understand his platform.

Mr. TRUMBULL. It seems to me a plain platform. It has no Northern and Southern face, like your Cincinnati creed. We do not preach

wide a difference as that.

popular sovereignty in the North, and scout it as a humbug in the South.

Mr. PUGH. You do not preach it in the South

Mr. CLAY. Why, then, does the Senator's party denounce it as a twin relic of barbarism with polygamy? Is not that a crime? Do not your laws punish it? Do not the laws of my State punish it? And if Slavery is equal in iniquity with polygamy, why should not the laws of all the States punish it?

Mr. TRUMBULL. We would punish polygamy in Illinois as a crime; and we would punish the reason why the person who owns a slave in a State cannot hold him as a slave, under the law of his State, in a Territory where Slavery has never been established. The Senator wants to parture from the principles of the Republican party of Thomas Jefferson, because we advocate

Mr. Chai.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I do not take it so. I am very glad, indeed, to be interrogated. I wish to the property there; he does not own the man; he voluntarily goes into a jurisdiction at Senators' efforts to the man; he voluntarily goes into a jurisdiction of the man; he voluntarily goes into a jurisdiction of the man; he voluntarily goes into a jurisdiction of the man; he voluntarily goes into a jurisdiction of the man; he voluntarily goes into a jurisdiction of the man to be officious, and I do not intend to be offensive.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I do not take it so. I am very glad, indeed, to be interrogated. I wish to the man; he voluntarily goes into a jurisdiction of the man to be offensive.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I do not take it so. I am very glad, indeed, to be interrogated. I wish to the man; he voluntarily goes into a jurisdiction of the man to be offensive.

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Mr. TRUMBULL is where there is no law to establish Slavery, and

> Slavery is so odious that it can only be sus-tained by positive law.
>
> Mr. YULEE. As I wish to understand the Senator perfectly as we proceed, I will ask him this question: When he spoke of the existence of Slavery in Tennessee by virtue of the local law, did he mean the local law of the Territory, or the local law as established and recognised by Congress by virtue of the compact with North Carolina?

Mr. TRUMBULL. I mean the local law existing in that Territory when it was ceded, and which Congress, in accepting, agreed not to interfere with.

The local law in Tennessee authorizing Sla-

it belonged to the United States at all. Now, he wants to know whether Congress can confisence in understand him to maintain that right and wrong are merely conventional; that whether polygamy be a crime or not, depends merely upon the laws of society or upon the tone of moral sentiment of society.

Mr. TRUMBULL. Not entirely, Mr. President, the wants to know whether Congress can confisent that was in a Territory where there had been no law establishing Slavery, and if, as he supposes, people from the Southern States exclusively go into such a Territory with their slaves, they do not hold them by virtue of any law when they get there, and it is no confiscation of property in the property in the second of the United States at all. Now, he wants to know whether Congress can confiscate that property. No—not if it is property; but if it was in a Territory where there had been no law establishing Slavery, and if, as he supposes, people from the Southern States exclusively go into such a Territory with their slaves, they do not hold them by virtue of any law when they get there, and if it is property; he was in a Territory where there had been no law establishing Slavery, and if, as he supposes, people from the Southern States exclusively go into such a Territory with their slaves, they do not hold them by virtue of any law when they get there, and it is not confiscation of property.

it again, that the Constitution was based upon the idea of Freedom, but it did not abolish Slavery where it existed by State or local law. It did not interfere to do that. It allowed the States to manange that for themselves, and provided that, when one held to service should escape to another State, where Slavery did not rexist, he might be reclaimed; and I wish the Senator to understand from me that I acquiesce in that clause of the Constitution of the United States. I recognise your right to reclaim the person who rans away, but I think it should be done in a judicious and proper manner, without exciting bad feeling in the country.

Mr. CLAY. Will the Senator allow me a moment, to ask him whether he recognises the luman being's life without justifiable or excusations. Many things, doubtless, are either criminal or innecent according to the circumstances; and when we speak of crime in human society or in political organizations, we mean some violation of the organizations, we mean some violation of the law of the land; and I take it there are no laws of the land upon the subject of polygamy in some countries, and I suppose it would not, in that sense, be a crime in those countries. If the gentleman wants my opinion of it morally, which I presume he does not, of course I am very willing to express it.

Mr. CLAY. Will the Senator allow me a moment, without pustifiable or excusation of property so of declare. They have no property in things, doubtless, are either criminal or innecent according to the circumstances; and when we speak of crime in human society or in political organizations, we mean some violation of the circumstances; and when we speak of crime in human society or in political organizations, we mean some violation of the circumstances; and when we speak of crime in human society or in political organizations, we mean some violation of the very thing the Republican party so of declare. They have no roll alves in such a case.

Mr. TRUMBULL. Not entirely, Mr. President, the things, doubtless, are eit

Shavery, occase the right to hold slaves existed when the country was acquired; but it does not follow, that if the country was free when we acquired it, men could afterwards have property in slaves in it; and that is the distinction.

The Senator wants to know whether it is a part of the Republican creed to keep out of the Union a State tolerating Slavery, which applies for admission. Read the creed, is the

such word in it? Is there anything that looks like it? Why not ask me if it is a part of the Republican creed to keep out of the Union a State applying for admission into the Union, the Constitution of which provides that her people shall elect her own Governor? We have never said so. What right have you to assume any such thing? It is no part of our creed, as laid down in our platform, to refuse a State admission into this Union because she may or may not have Slavery. Look into it; see if you can find any such thing. Why, then, propound a question founded upon a hypothesis which has no foundation in the creed of the party?

If the Senator wants my individual opinion, he can have that. I have no concealments. I

into all territories, when they were not promotited from so doing by the terms of cession; and if we do that, we will never, I trust, be troubled with the application of a slave State for admission of the North upon the South; and when and where the North upon the South; and when and where the North upon the South; and when and where the North upon the South; and when and where the North upon the South; and when and where the North upon the South; and when and where the North upon the South; and when and where the North upon the South; and when and where the North upon the South; and when and where the North upon the South; and when and where the North upon the South; and the South is t

ticular case; but, when the judges of the Court travelled out of the record, and undertook to lay downpolitical principles for this Government, they departed, in my judgment, from the line of their duty, and the expression of their opinions is en-titled to no more credit with me, upon political questions, than the expression of the opinion of the same number of gentlemen off the bench. Why, sir, there had been decisions involving the question of the right to govern the Territories before the present Chief Justice presided. Look back, sir, [Mr. Mason in the chair,] to the doctrine promulgated by your own Marshall, the ablest lawyer that over our on that heaven a Southern men that ever sat on that bench, a Southern man.

In one of his opinions, which is the opinion of the whole and not of a divided Court, he says,

Senator; but I think he has not fairly stated our

"The bill on the subject of slaves was a mer that in legislating for the Territories, Congress possesses the combined powers of the Federal and a State Government. If so, and if a State Government may prohibit Slavery, then Conment combined, may do the same thing; and where is your reverence for the doctrines of the Supreme Court, when you attack that decision? Sir, for sixty years that was the doctrine of the country, acquiesced in by all parties. Why did you assail it, and open up this exciting question? I deny that any such decision has been certainly endeavored to do so-the questions which the Senator from Florida propounded to me.
Mr. YULEE. Is the Senator proposing to leave

the subject?
Mr. TRUMBULL. Yes, sir; I propose to leave Mr. YULEE. I am very sorry to trouble the Senator. But suppose the inhabitants of a Territory chose to recognise Slavery, and to legislate with reference to the protection of that property; and, without undertaking to discuss with him whether the courts have already declared that the right of property in a slave is not changed by migration to a Territory, suppose a local law of the Territory authorizes it, and sup-pose the courts of the Territory and the courts of the United States sustain the legality of it, principles, as declared here in this document.

Mr. YULEE. I desire to have his exposition of the platform, or what he presents as his platform.

Mr. TRUMBULL. The Senator speaks of what I present as the platform? Is there any other? Why say, "what I present as the platform? Is there any other? Why say, "what I present as the platform? Is there any other? Why say, "what I present as the platform? Is there any other? Why say, "what I present as the platform? Is there any other? Why say, "what I present as the platform? Is there any other? Why say, "what I present as the platform? Is there any other? Why say, "what I present as the platform? Is there any other? Why say, "what I present as the platform are also and the platform and the platform are also and the considers Governor Chase, of this which the senator promit me to ask him whether he considers Governor Chase, of this which the Senator from New York are destruction of the right asserted of property in slavery. It had origin a party?

Mr. TRUMBULL. The Senator speaks of what the gentleman to be a contradiction in this way:

Our fathers had to deal with circumstances as the platform? Is there any other? Why say, "what I present as the platform of the right asserted of property in slavers of the principles of the Republican party?

Mr. TRUMBULL. The Senator speaks of what the Senator from Florida has not seen, and does not know, this platform. Now, is it possible to the obstruction of the right asserted of property in slavers of the principles of the Republican party?

Mr. TRUMBULL. The Senator from New York are conciled the considers Governor Chase, of the method and our property in which there was any previous extent the considers Governor Chase, of the method of the right asserted of property in slavers within that Territory? I am not speaking or it is to the Senator from New York are conciled to the considers Governor Chase, of the property in slavers within that Territory? I am not speaking or it is to the Senator from New York are conciled to the consi will then the party to which the gentleman be-longs feel themselves bound to legislate for the know.
Mr. TRUMBULL. Mr. President, in my judg-

and whose inhabitants were refused permission to introduce Slavery when they asked it of Con

out; how much difference there is between the Senator and the rest of his party.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I do not believe there is so should make a decision so utterly variant from Supreme Court itself, as to say that one person had a right to hold another as a slave in a Territory by virtue of any action of the inhabitants of a Territory, in defiance of Congress, I would acquiescer in the decision of the court as to the the cour decided that he was not entitled to it. I would not revolutionize the Government upon that; but it would be a decision in that case, and in that case only, and I would contest it on the day, until the court was reformed, and another Marshail put at its head, who should administer the law as our fathers made it.

Mr. YULEE. I do not ask the Senator's opin ion. I ask him to expound the platform.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I have expounded it. It denies any such right. Your hypothetical case will never arise. We deny that a court will ever make such a decision; and if it should, we will resort to the constitutional means, to the ballotoox, to the people; we will appeal from the exposition of our political rights by men dressed in gowns to the great body of the people, who make Judges and Presidents too.

Mr. YULEE. You would legislate to exclude

wert and destroy it.

Mr. YULEE. Now, then, I would turn the

the Senator construed Slavery to be legally existing, or otherwise, in the District of Columbia, and in the forts and arsenals, and other places in which the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States prevailed by the Constitution. These are

District.

Now, sir, I think I have answered these ge

Now, sir, I think I have answered these gen-tlemen so that they cannot at any rate misap-prehend my views, and I have done it without concealment or holding back at all; and, as I said, if I have been the means of disabusing the mind of a single Senator, or of a single person in the South who may ever take occasion to look over the desultory remarks I have made, I

such word in it? Is there anything that looks like it? Why not ask me if it is a part of the Republican creed to keep out of the Union as State applying for admission into the Union as State applying for admission into the Union ask that expenses and the Constitution of which provides that her people shall elected the constitution of which provides that her people shall elected the constitution of which provides that her people shall elected the constitution of which provides that her people of the South, or among the shall elected the constitution of which provides that her people of the South, or among the shall elected the constitution of which provides that her people of the South, or among the shall elected the constitution of which provides that her people of the South, or among the chall elected the constitution of which provides that her people of the South, or among the chall elected the constitution of which provides that her people of the South ? Will you be more set as the constitution of which provides that her people of the South, or among the chall elected the constitution of which provides that her people of the South ? Will you be more set as the constitution of which provides that the constitution of which provides that the constitution of which provides that the constitution of the United States, Congress cond sanction murder? Let me not be missanders to more among the white people of the South, or among the chall elected the constitution of the United States, Congress could sanction murder? Let me not be missanders to the constitution of the United States, Congress could sanction murder? Let me not be missanders that the constitution of the United States, Congress could sanction murder? Let me not be missanders that the constitution of the United States, Congress could sanction murder? Let me not be missanders that the constitution of the United States, Congress can extend the provided and the constitution of the United States, Congress can extend the provided and the constitution of the Uni

with the application of a slave State for admission.

The Senator says that the Supreme Court has decided that slaves may be legally held in a Territory. I deny it. The Supreme Court has no power to lay down political doctrines in this country. It may decide a case that comes before it, and by the decision of the Court in that case I am willing to abide. The Court did decide that Dred Scott had no right to bring a suit in the United States courts, and that is all it decided. That decision is final as to him in that particular case: but, when the judges of the Court his own opinions?

and the South; and about aggressions of the North upon the South; and when and where the South, reduce it to subjection, North upon the South; and about aggressions of the South, reduce it to subjection, North upon the South; and about aggressions of the South, reduce it to subjection, North upon the South; and about aggressions of the South, reduce it to subjection, North upon the South; and about aggressions of the south, reduce it to subjection, North upon the South; and about aggressions of the south, reduce it to subjection, North upon the South; and when and where the south, reduce it to subjection, North upon the South; and about aggressions of the south, reduce it to subjection, North upon the South; and when and where the south, reduce it to subjection, North upon the South; and when and where the south, reduce it to subjection, North upon the South; and when and where the south, reduce it to subjection, the subject is degrade the South, reduce it to subjection, the south, reduce it is subject in the subject in the propiet of the party in the candor from South Carolina, instead of taking our platform as the exponent of our principles, adverted to what a single individual of the Republican party agree then met the approbation of the people of Blavery into new transple its rights under foot? This principle is capture the principles, adverted to what a subject is a subject in the propiet of the south, reduce it is principles, his own opinions?

The Republican party has declared no such

principles as the Senator attributes to it. Would he mislead his people? Would he deceive him-

Does the Senator yield the floor?
Mr. TRUMBULL. Yes, sir.

made yesterday, as not presenting a candid view of the subject, as if I did not speak in candor.

Mr. TRUMBULL. I do not mean to impute a into the Legislature of Virginia, with regard want of candor, in any offensive sense, to the

principles.
Mr. CHESNUT. Mr. President, I merely rose to state, in response to what the Senator asked of me, whether I would take the opinion of a gress, possessing in a Territory the powers of a State Government and of the Federal Government not; but when I find the party acting upon such principles generally; when I find him who is acknowledged as the distinguished leader of that party, and so admitted, I believe, everywhere, and I suppose among themselves, uttering his well-considered and elaborate opinions; opinions which have been promulgated, and which have had their effect upon the country; opinions which have never before been denied by the party; which have never before been questioned, so far as I am aware; which have never before been questioned, so far as I am aware; which have never before been for pondered to by the gentlemen who belong to that party, and to the propose of manipute at liberty, and I think I was authorized in feeling myself at liberty, to hold them as the opinions, the well-considered opinions, of the leader of this great party in the North. That is the reason why I chose, upon the discursive debate reason why I chose, upon the discursive debate of yesterday, having that speech before me, to predicate my remarks of the purposes and principles of that party upon the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the purposes and principles of that party upon the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the purposes and principles of that party upon the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the purposes and principles of that party upon the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the purposes and principles of the moore than the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the Spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the spanial deportation or deletion of the Moore. This predicate my remarks of the spanial deportation or deletion of the moore of the spanial deportation or deletion of the moore of the spanial deportation or deletion or de predicate my remarks of the purposes and principles of that party upon the speech of that distinguished leader.

Mr. TRUMBULL. Mr. President, I wish to say that I acknowledge, and, so far as I know, Union on account of the utterance of such sen the Republican party acknowledges, no man as its leader. However high my respect for the distinguished Senator from New York, not now with us, I do not acknowledge him as the leader of the Republican party; nor do I hold myself responsible for the opinions he may express. We acknowledge no leaders. Whether the views will be seen that the idea is not new nor per second to the second that the idea is not new nor per second to the second that the idea is not new nor per second to the second that the idea is not new nor per second to the second that the idea is not new nor per second to the second that the idea is not new nor per second to the second that the idea is not new nor per second to the second that the idea is not new nor per second to the second that the idea is not new nor per second to the second that the idea is not new nor per second that the idea is not new nor per second to the second that the idea is not new nor per second that the idea is not new ne

who read from that speech, which I have here before me, if it comported exactly with his sense of Mr. Jefferson, that two races which are mark gress.

If the Supreme Court of the United States should make a decision so utterly variant from the repeated decisions of the courts in the Southern States, and of the former decisions of the Sunreme Court isself as to say that one person. North) will subjugate you; give us the reins of population that they should go to some coun nower, and we will place you at our feet?"

Mr. CHESNUT. I quoted no such language as thaving been used by the Senator from New them, and that it is the duty of this Government. from New York, in which he expressly stated, as country of that portion of this population to the result of this "irrepressible conflict," that the wheat-fields and rye-fields of New York and Massachusetts would ultimately be tilled by slave labor, or that the sugar plantations of Louisiana slaves, if there was any provision for them and the rice-fields and cotton-fields of South freed; but in most of the States where Sist Carolina must be tilled by free labor. That was the language of the Senator from New York.
Mr. TRUMBULL. I will ask the Senator, then, if it comports with his sense of fair dealing to a Senator from one of these United States, to quote

that portion of the speech, and leave out this: "On the other hand, while I do confidently believe and nope that my country will yet become a land of universal freedom, I do not expect that it will be made so otherwise

to bring it about. They may take one means or another, but they have the end in view; and it is a speech made by a distinguished Senator from the peace in the State of Illinois would have made. Why, sir, if an individual had come before one of our justices with a claim exceeding the jurisdiction of a justice of the peace, and the justice had examined it, and had seen that he had no jurisdiction, and then had gone on and investigated the case, and said how he would have decided if he had had have laughed at his folly. That is exactly what the Supreme Court of the United States has done in the Dred Scott case. The idea that the Supreme Court of the United States can establish political principles in this country. It was not the doctrine of the Senator who was not here, that his own explanation of the Benator who was not here conducted this whole discussion on my Jefferson. He regarded the Supreme Court as a set of sappers and miners, digging under the Constitution, who might in process of time subvert and destroy it.

Mr. YULEE. Now, then, I would turn the Senator's attention to another question. I asked Mr. YULEE. Now, then, I would turn the Senator's attention to another question. I asked whether, under the first clause of this platform, the Senator construed Slavery to be legally exist.

Mr. CHESNUT. One word, by the permission

the words—

Mr. TRUMBULL. I will answer the question without troubling the Senator to read the platform. I conceive that in the District of Columbia the Constitution of the United States has not, ex vi termini, abolished Slavery, because it existed here, by virtue of local law, when the United States obtained jurisdiction over the District.

Tiese are cifically, the speaker indicated to his audience, to the people of the North, that it is in their power; that this conflict is to be carried on; that through them and by their power they can produce this result. * * * I consider that I have done no injustice. I am willing to go before the country and before the world upon the question of fairness and justice to the views of the Senator from New York. * * *

Mr. TRUMBULL. I am sorry that the Senator from South Carolina, who usually speaks with so much candor, should not be willing that the New York should go out with those which he thought proper to quote, and especially when he put an interpretation upon them different from that of their author. But, sir, if he is satisfied that it shall go before country as he has stated it, that is a matter of taste and propriety with him.

in the South who may the Republican platform is, having given my anderstanding of it, I wish to ask Southern Senators why is there such a persistence in choosing to misunderstand us? I do not charge that upon any particular Senator; but why is it that in the Southern States of this Union we are called Abolitionists. Would Senators induce their constituents to think more harshly of us than we ought to be thought of? What is to be gained by it? Is the South to gain anything by making its inhabitants believe, and inducing, if you please, the slaves to believe, that the great Republican party is ready to put knives and pistols

What more than that is the declaration of the Senator from New York? Were these dectrine considered heretical in 1798? Did General Washington promulgate a principle which was to degrade the South, reduce it to subject

founder of the old Republican party of this subject:

"With the morals of the people, their industratoryed; for, in a warm climate, no man will in self who can make another labor for him. In that, of the proprietors of slaves, a very smal indeed are ever seen to labor. And can the libtion be thought secure when we have remove firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the peop That was the language of Thomas Jeffen

Mr. CHESNUT. The Senator has been pleased to comment on a portion of the remarks which I

exhibited, that the South ought to dissolve ments, and especially when the Senator fr New York has taken the pains to guard again Mr. TRUMBULL. I repudiate the construction that you have put upon those views. And now I wish to ask the Senator from South Cartin I quoted from the speech of the Senator to use its means for the purpose of freeing exists, laws have been passed prohibiting email cipation except on condition that the emancipal ted slave shall leave the jurisdiction of the Su Where are they to go? want a free negro population; the South on not have them. The consequence is, that em cipation has nearly ceased. If, however, a co try contiguous were provided, where the fr negro population of the United States who we willing might go—and I think they would some of the speech is there. * * I quoted from another speech, a portion which I thought bore and establish a Government of their own-fixed upon the recent converses. Mr. YULEE. You would legislate to exclude it?

Mr. TRUMBULL. We would legislate to exclude it; and the decision of a case would no more establish Slavery in a Territory, except as to the individual case, than has your decision as to Dred Scott, that he could not sue in the Fed-another, but they have the end in view; and it press my views on this point as by quoing for leaving assets.

"They must suppress the work!

stran unkn was used rable much pose a con gallar to not to not to not the malon migh cries the following sairs to be through the condition of sairs to the continuous sairs to be the condition of sairs and c

That, sir, was the language of Heary Car

port this great population to Africa obtain a country nearer home; and to sh sympathy of the North for the South, I